

UNIV. OF
TORONTO
LIBRARY



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

P.
Univ. B.

THE
OF
The British Chronicle History
IN
Spenser's Faerie Queene

A DISSERTATION
PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF BRYN MAWR COLLEGE
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF
PHILOSOPHY

BY
CARRIE ANNA HARPER

1910

The John C. Winston Co.
1006-1016 ARCH STREET
PHILADELPHIA

116622
171611

PREFACE

The following study, practically as it stands, was presented as a dissertation to the Faculty of Bryn Mawr College in 1908 in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The subject was suggested by Professor J. Douglas Bruce, formerly at Bryn Mawr College and now at the University of Tennessee, and the work was begun under his direction. It was continued at intervals during several years, whenever opportunity offered. The results were submitted to Professor Carleton F. Brown and Dr. Percy W. Long, to whose criticism and suggestion the present form is due. Professor Brown has continued to assist me in all the various stages of the work, and I cannot state too strongly my sense of obligation to him. Professor Bruce has also read the manuscript and has made valuable suggestions, of which I have availed myself in revision. To him and to Dr. Long, as well as to Professor Brown, I wish to express my gratitude. At the same time I wish to thank the Librarian of the Harvard College Library and especially Mr. T. J. Kiernan, Superintendent of the Department of Circulation, who have extended to me for many years the privileges of that library, without which this investigation could not have been carried on. I wish also to thank Mr. J. P. Morgan for his great courtesy in allowing me to work in his library for several days, and thus giving me access to the invaluable *Chronicle* by Caxton, which I could not otherwise have seen.

C. A. H.

SOUTH HADLEY, MASS.,

March 7, 1910.



TABLE OF EDITIONS TO WHICH REFERENCE IS MADE

The text of the Globe edition of Spenser (Macmillan & Co., 1902) has been used in this dissertation.

The following books have been used in the editions here specified:—

Brut Tysilio, translated by Peter Roberts, 1811, under the title, *The Chronicle of the Kings of Britain*.

Camden, William, *Britannia*, 1590.

Fabyan, Robert, *The New Chronicles of England and France*, ed. Sir Henry Ellis, London, 1811.

Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, ed. San Marte, Halle, 1854.

Grafton, Richard, *Chronicle at Large* . . . ed. Sir Henry Ellis, London, 1809.

Hardyng, John, *Chronicle*, ed. Sir Henry Ellis, London, 1812.

Higden, Ralph, *Polychronicon*, ed. in the Rolls Series, vols. I and II by C. Babington, vols. III–IX by J. R. Lumby, 1865–1886.

Holinshed, Raphael, *Chronicles*, 1577.¹

Lagamon, *Brut*, ed. Sir Fred. Madden, 3 vols., London, 1847.

Mannyng, Robert, of Brunne, *Chronicle*, ed. Furnivall, Rolls Series, 2 vols., 1887.

“Matthew of Westminster,” *Flores Historiarum*, ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls Series, London, 1890.

Mirror for Magistrates, ed. Joseph Haslewood, 3 vols., London, 1815.

Paris, Matthew, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls Series, London, 1872.

Polydore Vergil, *Anglicae Historiae Libri XXVI*, English

¹ When the edition of 1587 has been used it is specified in the footnote.

TABLE OF EDITIONS

translation, ed. from MS. of the **time** of Henry VII, by Sir Henry Ellis, Camden Society, London, 1846.

Rastell, John, *The Pastime of People*, ed. Dibden, London, 1811.

"Robert of Gloucester," *Chronicle*, ed. W. A. Wright, Rolls Series, 2 vols., 1887.

Stow, John, *Annales* . . . Augmented by Edmund Howes, London, 1631.

Warner, William, *Albions England*, London, 1612.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	iii
TABLE OF EDITIONS USED	v
CHAPTER	
I INTRODUCTION	i
II SPENSER'S METHOD OF WORK	10
III THE PROBABLE SOURCES OF SPENSER'S BRITISH CHRONICLE HIS- TORY	24
IV THE METHOD OF THE PRESENT INVESTIGATION	31
V A COMPARISON OF SPENSER'S CHRONICLE WITH ITS POSSIBLE SOURCES	38
VI CONCLUSION	172
APPENDIX	187
VITA	191

THE SOURCES OF THE BRITISH CHRONICLE HISTORY IN SPENSER'S *FAERIE* *QUEENE*

I

INTRODUCTION

Spenser incorporated in the *Faerie Queene* an almost complete rhymed chronicle of the British kings from Brutus to Cadwallader. This he divides into two parts. The first part, in Book II, Canto 10, takes the form of a narrative which Prince Arthur reads from an old book called "Briton Moniments." With the accession of Uther it ends abruptly. The second part, in Book III, Canto 3, appears as a prophecy which Merlin makes to Britomart. He describes the "famous Progenee" which shall spring from her marriage with Arthegall. Beginning with her son, a king who may be identified with Conan, the second in succession after Arthur, the prophecy continues to the last of the British kings, Cadwallader. The only important omissions from the chronicle are the stories of Arthur and his successor, Constantine.

The two parts are bound together by the similarity of the elaborate invocations that precede them. As Queen Elizabeth is supposed by Spenser to be descended from Prince Arthur and that "royall maid of yore," Britomart, the ancestors of Arthur and the descendants of Britomart are both in the Queen's ancestral line, and to chronicle their

history was a tribute to the Queen. Spenser accordingly begins the first part of his chronicle with the lines: —¹

"Who now shall give unto me words and sound
Equall unto this haughty enterprise?"

* * * * *

More ample spirit than hitherto was wount
Here needes me, whiles the famous auncestryes
Of my most dreaded Sovereigne I recount,
By which all earthly Princes she doth far surmount."

It is "a labor huge," far exceeding the might of his "fraile pen." Yet with the help of the Muses, he says, he

"would assay
Thy name, O souveraine Queene! to blazon far away."

In like fashion he introduces the canto that contains the prophecy of Merlin.²

"Begin then, O my dearest sacred Dame!

* * * * *

Begin, O Clio! and recount from hence
My glorious Soveraines goodly auncestrye,
Till that by dew degrees, and long protense,
Thou have it lastly brought unto her Excellence."

In this way Spenser emphasized the unity of the two parts, which otherwise might have been somewhat obscured by the difference in form,—a difference forced upon Spenser by the plan of the *Faerie Queene*, which presented Arthur as the principal hero, and placed the time of the action immediately before Arthur's accession to the throne. The reign of Arthur was therefore naturally omitted, and the history of the kings who followed him was inevitably given as a prophecy. Neither the omission nor the change of form affects the essential character of the passages under consideration, or appreciably lessens their right to the title of a chronicle of British kings.

¹ F. Q., II, 10, 1.

² F. Q., III, 3, 4.

The material of which the chronicle is composed was first published to the world about 1136, by Geoffrey of Monmouth, in the *Historia Regum Britanniae*. The origin of this extraordinary history has been much disputed. Although Geoffrey himself asserted that he was translating "an ancient book in the British tongue,"³ brought to him by Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, this book, if it ever existed, was then unknown to other writers, and still remains unknown. The theory most generally held at the present time is, that Geoffrey gathered from many sources fables, popular traditions, and facts of history, and then combined them with the utmost freedom to form a narrative essentially original.⁴ In any case, for all practical purposes, Geoffrey may be accepted as the ultimate source, not of every statement in the history of the British kings, but of the narrative as a whole.

Geoffrey's narrative was more or less completely reproduced by many later writers, but was much modified in the successive repetitions. Almost from the beginning it came into conflict with authentic history recorded by both Roman and Anglo-Saxon writers. As a result, omissions, additions, and changes were made in the interest of historical accuracy. Finally, after a period of distrust, the growth of historical acumen led to the complete rejection of Geoffrey's material. But before this came about, changes other than those due to a desire for truth had resulted from the usual careless mediæval attitude toward sources and the inevitable errors of copyists. Because of its great and long-continued popularity, the *Historia* was translated and re-translated into both French and English, prose and verse. It was sometimes epitomized, sometimes embellished and expanded. Each redaction, through accident or design, was marked by variations from the original. Then the earlier

³ "Quendam Britannici sermonis librum vetustissimum."

⁴ See Robert Huntingdon Fletcher, *The Arthurian Material in the Chronicles*, Boston, 1906, p. 50: See also W. H. Schofield, *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer*, New York, 1906, pp. 38-39.

versions were compared and compounded in all possible ways to make the later versions. In the time of Elizabeth, consequently, the chronicle of the British kings, not yet completely rejected, was known to the reading public in many forms that agreed in general outline, but differed widely from one another in details, and even in matters of considerable importance.

The object of the present dissertation is to determine, as exactly as may be, which of the possible sources Spenser used in the preparation of his version of the chronicle, to note whether he followed one authority or drew from several of his predecessors, and, if the latter prove to be the case, to consider his method of selecting and arranging his material. A close study of this limited field should result, not only in establishing the sources of his chronicle, but also in increasing our knowledge of his habit of mind and method of work.

The investigation of this subject has already been begun by the annotators of the *Faerie Queene*, who have been forced, in spite of the low estimate that they place on the literary value of Spenser's chronicle,⁵ to expend much labor in commenting upon it. Their contribution to the study of its sources has been for the most part, however, incidental rather than direct and conscious.

Warton seems to have been the first critic to call attention to the chronicle history material in the *Faerie Queene*. In his *Observations on the Faery Queen*, 1754, he groups Canto 10 of Book II and Canto 3 of Book III, as both containing "historical genealogies of future kings and princes of England."⁶ "This part of our author," he writes, "is manifestly taken from the former part of John Har-

⁵ Kitchin, in his edition of Book II of the *Faery Queene*, Oxford, 1868, p. 221, writes, with reference to Canto 10, "This canto, by far the duller of all . . ." and Professor F. J. Child, in his edition of Spenser, Boston, 1855, vol. II, p. 86, says of the stanzas on King Lear, "The magic of Shakespeare's genius has made these the only interesting stanzas in the whole canto."

⁶ Thomas Warton, *Observations on the Faery Queen*, 2 vols., London, 1820, vol. II, p. 29.

dyng's Chronicle." ⁷ The story of the giants, however, put him in mind of Geoffrey of Monmouth.⁸

Upton, the next scholar to approach the chronicle, was the first to make a detailed study of it. In the notes to his edition of the *Faerie Queene* he assumed that Geoffrey of Monmouth was Spenser's source and therefore gave a summary of the *Historia*.⁹ He added quotations from the works of Tacitus, Bede, Gildas, Hardyng, Ross, Holinshed, and Stow, and from the *History of Arthur* (*Morte d'Arthur*), the *Mirror for Magistrates*, Buchanan's *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, Camden's *Britannia*, Carew's *Survey of Cornwall*, Drayton's *Polyolbion*, Milton's *History of England*, Sir Richard Blackmore's *Prince Arthur*, and Gordon's *Itinerarium septentrionale*.¹⁰ Upton's intention, apparently, was to explain the text of his author, and to indicate that the statements contained in it were not due to the creative imagination of Spenser, but were matters of ordinary knowledge, and in some cases represented actual facts. Although he named most of the probable sources of Spenser and quoted many of the most exact parallels in Spenser's predecessors, he made no effort to study the relation of one source to another, or to determine which Spenser actually used, as is sufficiently proved by his frequent quotations from later books, such as Drayton's *Polyolbion* (first part, 1612) and Milton's *History* (1670).

Todd, in his edition of Spenser, 1805, contented himself with repeating Upton's statement that Geoffrey was the chief source of Spenser's history. So far as the chronicle material is concerned, he added nothing of value to Upton's notes.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 287.

⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 158.

⁹ *The Faerie Queene*, ed. Upton, 1758. The first summary of the *Historia* is introduced by the statement that Spenser's "account of Brutus and his sacred progeny is taken chiefly from Jeffry of Monmouth" (II, 490). The second summary begins with a reference to "the same author, Jeffry of Monmouth, whom Spenser in great measure follows" (II, 492).

¹⁰ *Faerie Queene*, ed. Upton, vol. II, pp. 488 ff. and pp. 534 ff.

Forty years later Craik also repeated Upton's opinion: — "This long canto (II, 10) is, with the exception of the last eight or nine stanzas, merely a metrical chronicle of the old British kings from Brutus to Uther Pendragon, father of Arthur, taken almost exclusively from Geoffrey of Monmouth, not admitting abridgment, and containing few passages of eminent poetical beauty." ¹¹

The next work of importance was the edition of Spenser by Professor F. J. Child, whose brief notes represent the results of independent investigation. With regard to the tenth Canto of the second Book of the *Faerie Queene* he wrote: — "Some parts of this Chronicle appear to be taken from Holinshed, others from Geoffrey of Monmouth, the oldest authority for these fabulous stories. There are two or three unimportant particulars, not found in either, which I have not succeeded in tracing to their original." ¹²

The latest commentator on any considerable portion of Spenser's chronicle is Kitchin, who took up the work of illustrating and explaining the first part with a zeal like Upton's, and with much the same method. Kitchin referred to Sammes's *Britannia*, to Camden's *Britannia*, to Geoffrey of Monmouth, Hardyng, Holinshed, "Robert of Gloucester," Stow, Milton, Cæsar, Bede, Tacitus, Dion Cassius, Gildas, Nennius, and William of Malmesbury.¹³ He quoted frequently and at length from Hardyng and Holinshed, and less frequently from Geoffrey of Monmouth. Occasionally he ascribed a single passage to a definite source,¹⁴ and twice he committed himself to a general statement about the source of the whole. The first time, he wrote that "Spenser made large use of Holinshed's chronicle," often drew "almost literally from Hardyng's Chron-

¹¹ *Spenser*, ed. Craik, London, 1845, vol. I, pp. 234-235.

¹² *Spenser*, ed. Child, Boston, 1855, vol. II, p. 76.

¹³ These names are given in the order in which they appear in Kitchin's notes to *Book II of the Faery Queene*, Oxford, 1868.

¹⁴ The note on stanza 26 of II, 10 is "Spenser follows Geoffry of Monmouth" (p. 225); on st. 35 the same (p. 226); on st. 45, "Spenser closely follows Holinshed" (p. 228); and on st. 48, "Hardyng (whom Spenser follows here) describes this in c. 44" (p. 229).

icle," and perhaps drew partly from Geoffrey of Monmouth, "though this is not so clear."¹⁵ The second time, after referring to the "newly aroused national life and feeling" in Elizabeth's reign, and the attention then being given "in literary circles to archæological questions," he noted that Holinshed's *Chronicles*, Camden's *Britannia*, and Stow's work were then recent publications, and concluded by saying that "the influence of Holinshed was clearly very great on Spenser's mind."¹⁶

In a study of Spenser's sources the importance of Kitchin's work is less than would appear at first sight, because on inspection the quotations, chosen more or less at random from a few chronicles, prove misleading rather than useful. The fact that a considerable body of material was common to nearly all the chronicles, was, it would seem, overlooked. The note on Vigent, for instance, speaks only of Holinshed's *Vigenius* and Hardyng's *Iugen*.¹⁷ The reader infers that Holinshed is Spenser's source. But, as *Vigenius* appears also in Geoffrey of Monmouth and in a large number of other chronicles, Holinshed is by no means certainly the source. This misleading incompleteness is characteristic of the majority of the notes. Moreover, Kitchin frequently introduces confusion by quoting improbable sources like William of Malmesbury and "Robert of Gloucester," whose chronicles existed in Spenser's time only in manuscript, and impossible sources, like Milton and Samnes. And a third difficulty is introduced when Kitchin undertakes to disentangle the fiction of the chronicles from the facts of history. In all these respects Kitchin's work is like Upton's. But it is less valuable, from the point of view of a study of the sources, because of his disregard of Geoffrey as the ultimate source.

In a comparatively recent edition of the *Faerie Queene*, the editor, Miss Kate M. Warren, makes a general state-

¹⁵ *Book II of the Faery Queene*, ed. Kitchin, p. 220.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 221.

¹⁷ *Book II of the Faery Queene*, ed. Kitchin, p. 227, note on st. 44, l. 9.

ment of what she conceives to be the situation, but refuses to enter into details. She writes as follows:—"Spenser here based his 'facts' on Geoffrey of Monmouth's History and some of the many Elizabethan Chroniclers, such as Holinshed, Hardyng, Camden, etc. In many cases these 'facts' are mythical, and moreover, the poet does not even keep to the statements as made by the historical authorities he used. Sometimes, however, he follows them almost word for word. As the question of the relationship of the statements in the canto to Geoffrey of Monmouth and the chroniclers is one chiefly of antiquarian and not of literary interest, it has not been thought necessary to enlarge on it at all fully in these notes."¹⁸ As a matter of fact, Miss Warren's scant notes show little original investigation of the chronicle history material.

The one writer who has shown an appreciation of the problems connected with Spenser's chronicle and a willingness to cope with them, although in a limited field, is Perrett, who in his *Story of King Lear* has made a careful study of the few stanzas in the *Faerie Queene* which deal with that subject. The "auncient booke, hight *Briton moniments*" he declares out of hand was "Geoffrey's *liber vetustissimus*."¹⁹ As for Spenser's version of King Lear, he concludes, "Geoffrey alone satisfies all demands . . . But Geoffrey is very laxly followed; and one or two points, especially the title of Regan's husband, 'the king of Cambria,' suggest that Spenser worked without the book, but from memory, aided with notes of Geoffrey." Moreover, he considers that the "rhyme in Spenser's difficult stanza" was "a powerful factor" in modifying Spenser's narrative. The manner of Cordelia's death, for instance, he thinks was due to Spenser's need for a rhyme with *strong* and *long*. "Herself," therefore, "she

¹⁸ *Faerie Queene*, ed. Kate M. Warren, Constable & Co., London, 1897, vol. II, p. 272.

¹⁹ Wilfrid Perrett, *The Story of King Lear, from Geoffrey of Monmouth to Shakespeare*, Berlin, 1904, p. 90.

hong.”²⁰ “In Spenser,” he has previously written, with regard to more than the King Lear story, “we have to do with an antiquary who had followed the then burning question of the authenticity of the British record with a zeal which it would not repay me, for the purposes of this study, to emulate. I therefore leave unanswered such questions as why he wrote ‘Aganip of Celtica’ when ‘Gallia’ would have given a better rhyme; what was his authority for sending Bladud to Athens (v. 228); whence came his knowledge of the Welsh for Brute Greneshield, etc. (v. 220 f.).”²¹

The difficulties which Perrett mentions are only some of those which must be met in the study of the sources of Spenser’s chronicle. There are, as he suggests, a certain number of statements for which no authority has as yet been discovered, although Bladud’s journey to Athens is not one of them. But there is more to be done than to seek the authority for these.

The present confusion will best appear from a brief summary of the results which have been treated above in more detail. According to Warton, Spenser’s source was Hardyng; according to Upton and Craik, it was Geoffrey of Monmouth; according to Professor Child, Spenser used both Geoffrey of Monmouth and Holinshed; according to Kitchin, he used Holinshed, Hardyng, and Geoffrey of Monmouth, and possibly Camden and Stow; according to Miss Warren, he used Geoffrey “and some of the many Elizabethan Chroniclers”; and finally, according to Perrett, in one section of the chronicle, he used only Geoffrey, or more probably, notes from Geoffrey.

A complete and systematic re-examination of the subject is evidently necessary, if the truth is to be established. But first it seems wise to see what light Spenser’s other work may cast on his probable attitude toward the chronicle histories.

²⁰ Perrett, *Story of King Lear*, pp. 91-92.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

II

SPENSER'S METHOD OF WORK

In the description of the rivers in the *Faerie Queene*, Book IV, Canto 11, Spenser handled material from Holinshed, and in the *View of the Present State of Ireland* he referred more or less to the past history of the country. To these two places, then, we turn for a preliminary study of Spenser's method of work.

The marriage of the Thames and the Medway was a subject long in Spenser's mind. Although as a part of the *Faerie Queene* it did not appear until 1596, it was at least in contemplation much earlier, for it is mentioned in a letter to Harvey written "Quarto Nonas Aprilis," 1580, and printed the same year. The passage is as follows:—

"For, to tell you trueth, I minde shortely at convenient leysure, to sette forth a Booke in this kinde, whiche I entitle *Epithalamion Thamesis*: whyche Booke, I dare undertake wil be very profitable for the knowledge, and rare for the Invention and manner of handling. For in setting forth the marriage of the Thames: I shewe his first beginning, and offspring, and all the Countrey, that he passeth thorough, and also describe all the Rivers throughout Englande, whyche came to this Wedding, and their righte names, and right passage, &c. A worke, beleewe me, of much labor, wherein notwithstanding Master *Holinshed* hath muche furthered and advantaged me, who therein hath bestowed singular paines, in searching oute their first heades and sources: and also in tracing and dogging oute all their Course, till they fall into the Sea.

O Tite, siquid, ego,
Ecquid erit pretij?

But of that more hereafter."¹

¹ *Spenser*, Globe ed., p. 709.

This letter is of the greatest interest. In the first place, it proves Spenser's acquaintance with the first edition of Holinshed, 1577. The two folio volumes of that edition may even have been among the books which Spenser took with him to Ireland the very year that he wrote the letter, 1580. In the second place, it shows that Spenser had no mind, even then, to follow Holinshed slavishly. His main dependence was on Holinshed, who had "much furthered and advantaged" him, but he planned to add something of value himself, and the effort was to be "of much labour."

Whether the *Epithalamion Thamesis* was actually written or not will probably never be known.² For the present discussion the point is comparatively unimportant. Spenser's first plan was to compose the *Epithalamion* in the "English versifying" which was then so popular with a group of English scholars. The metre was to depend on quantity, not accent, and there was to be no rhyme.³ Consequently, even if the poem was written, not much of its wording can have survived in the *Faerie Queene*, for the change in versification would have necessitated a complete revision. The essential point is that the account of the

² The *Epithalamion Thamesis* is not mentioned in Harvey's letter to Spenser (*Spenser*, Globe ed., pp. 709-710), or in Ponsonbie's notice to the reader prefixed to the *Complaints* (*Ibid.*, p. 488). Yet the expression "sette forth," which Spenser uses with reference to the poem on the Thames, frequently indicates printing. "Since my late setting forth of the *Faerie Queene*," wrote Ponsonbie, the printer (*Ibid.*, p. 488). And in the dedicatory letter prefixed to the *Prosopopoia* Spenser himself said that having lighted upon these verses "composed in the raw conceipt" of his youth, he "was by others, which liked the same, mooved to set them foorth" (*Ibid.*, p. 512). So when he wrote that at convenient leisure he was minded "to sette forth a Booke . . . which I entitle *Epithalamion Thamesis*," it would seem that it was printing that he referred to, and that the verses were partly, if not wholly, written.

³ The "English versifying" may in itself account for the disappearance of the *Epithalamion Thamesis*, supposing it was actually written, for Spenser was quickly dissatisfied with this experiment in metre. Failing to print while the movement was at its height, he would naturally have kept his manuscript and put it away, as he did the manuscript of the *Prosopopoia*. Then, after he had cast the old material into a new and more satisfactory form, he would have destroyed the first version of it.

marriage of the Thames, as it appears in the *Faerie Queene*, includes the material that was mentioned in the letter to Harvey. "The first beginning and offspring of the Thames" are described, and the "righte names and right passage" of "all the Rivers throughout Englande whiche came to this Wedding." From this identity of material we may infer that Holinshed, who was to have furthered the earlier form, was equally advantageous to the later.

A comparison of Spenser's verse with the description of the rivers in Holinshed justifies such an inference. Holinshed, for instance, writes of the Thamar, "which for the most part parteth Deuonshire from Cornewall,"⁴ and Spenser paraphrases,

"There was the speedy Tamar, which devides
The Cornish and the Devonish confines."⁵

Again in Holinshed, after the statement that the Stoure "ryseth of sixe heds," there is a list of the towns on the Stoure, which includes Blandford and Winburne.⁶ These facts are reproduced by Spenser in poetic phraseology:—

"And there came Stoure with terrible aspéct,
Bearing his sixe deformed heads on hye,
That doth his course through Blandford plains direct,
And washeth Winborne meades in season drye."⁷

To multiply examples of the influence that may have been exerted by the 1577 edition of Holinshed would be easy, but a greater interest attaches to those which show that Spenser used also the second, or 1587, edition. This, indeed, may easily have replaced entirely the first edition, the use of which might be difficult to prove, if it were not for the reference to Holinshed in the letter to Harvey, seven years before the appearance of the second edition. Four examples will suffice to show Spenser's dependence

⁴ Hol., ed. 1577, I, p. 54.

⁵ F. Q., IV, II, 31.

⁶ Hol., ed. 1577, I, p. 52.

⁷ F. Q., IV, II, 32.

on the second edition,—namely, his description of the Trent, of the Dart, of the Lindus, and of the group of three Irish rivers, the Shure, the Newre, and the Barrow.

The account of the Trent runs as follows in the second edition of Holinshed:—"The Trent is one of the most excellent riuers in the land, not onelie for store of samon, sturgeon, and sundrie other kinds of delicate fish where-with it dooth abound, but also for that it is increased with so manie waters, as for that onelie cause it may be compared with the Ouze or Sauerne . . ." ⁸ In the first edition there is no mention of the "sundrie . . . kinds . . . of fish." ⁹ But Spenser writes,

"And bounteous Trent, that in himself enseames
Both thirty sorts of fish and thirty sundry streames." ¹⁰

As this grouping of the various kinds of fish and the sundry streams is not one that would naturally have occurred to Spenser without knowledge of Holinshed, it indicates his use of the second edition.

The account of the Dart in the second edition of Holinshed is much expanded from that in the first edition. It gives for the first time the following sentence:—"Of it selfe moreouer this water" (the Dart) "is verie swift, and thorough occasion of tin-workes whereby it passeth, it carrieth much sand to Totnesse bridge, and so choketh the depth of the riuer downeward, that the hauen it selfe is almost spoiled by the same." ¹¹ This re-appears in Spenser's line,

⁸ Hol., *Descr. of Eng.*, I, ch. 15, ed. 1587, vol. I, p. 96.

⁹ In the first edition of Holinshed, I, p. 70 b, the text runs, "The Trent is one of the most excellent ryuers in the lande, and increased wyth so many waters . . ." etc.

¹⁰ F. Q., IV, II, 35.

¹¹ Hol., *Descr. of Eng.*, I, ch. 12. The full text of the two editions is as follows: "The riuer of Darnt commeth out of Darntmore, XV. myles aboue Totnesse (as I said before) from whence it goeth to Bucklande Hole, and soone after taking in the Asheburn water on the one side that runneth from Saddleton rocke by north, and the Buckfastlich that commeth from north west, it runneth to Staunton, Darington, Hemston, and there also crossing a rill on eche side,

"And Dart, nigh chockt with sands of tinny mines."¹²

Even the word "chockt" is the word of Holinshed.

The river Lindis is mentioned in both editions of Holinshed, but only in the second edition is there reference to the fact that it gives its name to Lincoln. Holinshed prefers the name Witham, and quotes the old rhyme,

"Ancolme ele, and Witham pike,
Search all England and find not the like."

He then refers to the other names of the river. "*Leland* calleth it Lindis, diuerse the Rhe, and I haue read all these names my selfe: and thereto that the Lincolneshire men were called in old time *Coritani*, and their head citie Lindus, Lindon, or *Linodunum* . . ."¹³ This information is given by Spenser in two lines:—

"And Lindus, that his pikes doth most commend,
Of which the auncient Lincolne men doe call."¹⁴

Finally, Spenser's description of the three Irish rivers, the Shure, the Newre, and the Barrow, gives a particularly

passeth forth to Totnesse, Bowden, and aboue Gabriell Stoke, meeteth with the Hartburne that runneth vnder Rost bridge, two miles aboue Totnesse, or as an other sayeth, by Ratter, Harberton, Painesford, and Asprempion into Darnt, which ere long also commeth to Cornworthy, Greneway, Ditsham, Darntmouth, betwene the Castels, and so into the sea" (Hol., ed. 1577, I, p. 53 b). "The riuer of Dart or Darent (for I read Derenta muth for Dartmouth) commeth out of Dartmore fiftene miles aboue Totnesse, in a verie large plot, and such another wild morish & forrestie ground as Exmore is. Of it selfe moreouer this water is verie swift, and thorough occasion of tin-workes whereby it passeth, it carrieth much sand to Totnesse bridge, and so choketh the depth of the riuer downeward, that the hauen it selfe is almost spoiled by the same. The mariners of Dartmouth accompt this to be about a kenning from Plimmouth. The Darent therefore proceeding from the place of his vprising, goeth on to Buckland hole; and soone after taking in the Ashburne water . . ." etc. as above (Hol., ed. 1587, vol. I, p. 60).

¹² F. Q., IV, 11, 31.

¹³ Hol., *Descr. of Eng.* I, ch. 16, ed. 1587, vol. I, p. 100. The corresponding passage in the first edition is as follows:—"Lelande calleth it Lindis, diuers the Rhe, and I haue read all those names my selfe, except my memory do faile me. It riseth among the Wickhams . . ." (Hol., ed. 1577, p. 32).

¹⁴ F. Q., IV, 11, 39.

clear proof of his use of the second edition of Holinshed. In the first edition I have not been able to find any account of them. In the second edition the following passage occurs:—"The Barrow is a goodlie and a notable riuer, hauing his head or spring in the hill called Mons Blandina or Slogh Blome, in which also are the heads or springs of the two other notable riuers Sure and the other Eoire. This Barrow keepeth and hath his course through the countie of Lex . . . and so to Rosse, a little aboue which towne it meeteth and ioineth with the Eoire and they together keepe their course about six miles, vntill they meet with the Sure . . . and as they all doo spring and rise out of one mountaine, so after they haue taken their seuerall courses, they meet together and take one waie into the seas. They are all nauigable, and all alike replenished with sundrie sorts and kinds of fishes."¹⁵ Spenser has elaborated this account, but reproduces the facts accurately. He first describes the meeting of the giant Blomius and the nymph Rheusa "under Slewboome in shady grove." Then, he continues, Rheusa gave birth to

"three faire sons, which being thenceforth powrd
In three great riuers ran . . ."

The first was the Shure, the next the Newre, and the third
"the goodly Barow."

"All which, long sundred, doe at last accord
To joyne in one, ere to the sea they come;
So, flowing all from one, all one at last become."¹⁶

This conclusion is strikingly like the sentence next to the last in the extract from the 1587 edition of Holinshed.

But with the description of the Irish riuers a new ele-

¹⁵ Hol., *Conquest of Ireland*, II, ch. 23, ed. 1587, vol. II, p. 46. There is also an earlier mention of the Shure, "a goodlie and a notable riuer," which is said to have its source in "a certeine hill called Blandina, but in Irish Sloghblome, for the pleasantnesse thereof." See Hol., *Conquest of Ireland*, I, ch. 32, ed. 1587, vol. II, p. 22.

¹⁶ F. Q., IV, II, stanzas 42-43.

ment enters into the consideration of Spenser's sources, for here Camden's *Britannia* seems to have been used in connection with Holinshed.¹⁷ In Camden we read, "Infra Ormondian Bliew Blemy, (Bladina montes vocat Giraldus,) se leuiter conuexis iugis attollunt, e quorum visceribus quasi maternis *Suirus* quem dixi, *Neorus* & *Birgus* aeduntur, & diuisis alueis decurrentes, priusquam Oceanum adeunt, concordibus se consociant aquis, vnde *Tres sorores* ab antiquis dictę." Camden also speaks of "*Birgus*, nunc *Barrow*."¹⁸ Here, in Camden's "e quorum visceribus quasi maternis" and his "*Tres sorores*," is a suggestion of Spenser's fable. Furthermore, the names of the rivers and the order in which they are enumerated indicate the use of Camden, as the following table shows:

	Holinshed	Camden	Spenser
1	Barrow	Suirus	Shure.
2	Sure	Neorus	Newre.
3	Eoire	Birgus (nunc Barrow)	Barow.

Beside the use that Spenser made of these two authorities there are indications of some personal knowledge of the rivers, such as might be expected after Spenser's long residence in Ireland. For instance, while he calls the Shure "gentle," he speaks of the "waters gray" of "stubborne Newre."¹⁹

In one case, at least, Spenser's modifications of Holinshed's narrative led him into error. According to Holinshed the Thamar and the Plym both fall into the Haven at

¹⁷ Spenser's knowledge of Camden's work is a certainty. There are two references to Camden in the *View of the Present State of Ireland*, and a stanza in praise of him in the *Ruines of Time* (Spenser, Globe ed., p. 491).

¹⁸ Camden's *Britannia*, p. 695.

¹⁹ Dr. Percy W. Long has called my attention to two articles by Mr. Thomas Keightley, *On the Life of Edmund Spenser* (*Fraser's Magazine*, October, 1859) and *Irish Rivers named in the Faerie Queene* (*Notes and Queries*, 28 October, 1869), in both of which the influence of Spenser's personal knowledge of Ireland is assumed.

Plymouth.²⁰ Spenser represents the Thamar as "meeting Plim" and thence declining to "Plimmouth,"²¹ — an impossible geographical statement, as a glance at the map will show.

For the purposes of a study of Spenser's sources in chronicle history it is not necessary to pursue this investigation further. The examples already given are sufficient to bring out several facts about Spenser's method of handling the material that he drew, at least in part, from books. In the first place, there was no uniformity about it. He sometimes followed accurately the source from which he was drawing, as in the case of the Stoure and the Thamar, and again he introduced a variation from his source, as with the Plim. At one time he made a masterly brief summary, as in the case of the Dart, and at another he expanded his account with poetic imagery, as in the case of the Stoure and the three Irish rivers. In the second place, Spenser accumulated material from different sources. Here again the three Irish rivers will serve to illustrate, combining, as they do, material from Holinshed, from Camden, and from what seems to be personal observation. Finally, in the third place, it is clear that Spenser continued, after 1580, to read on the subject of the rivers of Great Britain, and that he knew the latest authorities, as his use of the *Britannia* of 1586 and the Holinshed of 1587 abundantly proves. We find, in short, exactly what the letter to Harvey would lead us to expect. Spenser both used Holinshed and added to Holinshed. He thus, as a result of "much labour," wrote stanzas which in his time, at least, were undoubtedly "profitable for the knowledge and rare for the Invention and manner of handling."

We turn now to consider Spenser's use of historical records in the *View of the Present State of Ireland*.²² Dr.

²⁰ Hol., ed. 1577, I, p. 54. The same statement is repeated in the second edition, vol. I, p. 61.

²¹ F. Q., IV, 11, 31.

²² Entered on the Stationers' Register in 1598, and probably written before 1596, which is said to be the date of the manuscripts.

Wilhelm Riedner, in *Spensers Belesenheit* (Leipzig, 1908), has shown that Spenser's citations from classical authorities in this work are in nearly every case false. Nevertheless, a certain interest attaches to the list of authors to whom he refers. The list is as follows:—Buchanan, Cæsar, Strabo, Tacitus, Ptolemy, Pliny, Pompeius Mela, Berosus, Vincentius, Æneas Silvius, Luddus, Camden, Diodorus Siculus, Bede, Olaus Magnus, Jo. Bohemus, Herodotus, the Greek Commentaries upon Callimachus, Vergil, Stanihurst, Solinus, and Herodianus.²³ Apparently, to Spenser, a poet was quite as good historical authority as a writer of chronicles.

The subjects that led to this array of names show what trivial matters sometimes held Spenser's attention. There were "Irin or Irish Scotts" and "Albin-Scotts," so that some writers called Ireland "Scotia major" and Scotland "Scotia minor."²⁴ The "Gaulish speach" used by the British before the coming of the Saxons is still retained by the Welshmen, the Cornishmen, and the Britons of France.²⁵ Ireland was anciently called Britannia, and was a part of Great Britain, besides having been later, as "appeareth by good record yet extant," under subjection to Gurgunt and to King Arthur.²⁶ Their method of pasturing cattle, the wearing of a mantle, their battle cries, their arms, their oaths, and their wailing for the dead, are all customs that the Irish have in common with the ancient Scythians.²⁷ The origin of the battle cry "Farrih" may be from one of the first kings of Scotland, "Fargus, Fergus, or Ferragus," or from "Pharao," whose daughter Scota led the Egyptians who first settled Ireland, though the latter story is probably "a senceless fable."²⁸ Such are the statements

²³ These names are given in the order of their appearance in the *View of the Present State of Ireland*.

²⁴ *Spenser*, Globe ed., p. 625.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 628.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 629.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 630, 632, 633 and 634.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 632.

that required the citation of authorities, sometimes two or three for a single point.

The Irish chronicles are mentioned several times. They all agree, Irenæus says, that the first settlers of Ireland came "out of Spayne," though "whether they were native Spaynyards, or Gaules, or Affricans, or Gothes, or some other of those Northerne Nations whiche did overspredd all Christendome, it is impossible to affirme, onely some naked conjectures may be gathered . . ." When Eudoxus charges Irenæus with leaning too boldly on "those Irish chronicles which are most fabulous and forged," inasmuch as of the ancient times there remain "onely bare traditions of times and remembrances of *Bards*, which use to forge and falsifye every thing as they list . . .," Irenæus makes a lengthy defence:

"I doe herein relye upon those Bards or Irish Chroniclers, though the Irish themselves, through theyr ignoraunce in matters of learning and deepe judgement, doe most constantly beleve and avouch them, but unto them besides I add my owne reading; and out of them both together, with comparison of times, likewise of manners and customes, affinitye of woordes and names, propertyes of natures and uses, resemblances of rytes and ceremonyes, monumentes of churches and tombes, and many other like circumstaunces, I doe gather a likelihood of trueth; not certaynly affirming any thing, but by conferring of times, languages, monumentes, and such like, I doe hunte out a probabilitye of thinges, which I leave to your judgement to beleve or refuse. Nevertheless there be some very auncient authors which make mention of these thinges, and some moderne, which by comparing them with present times, experience, and theyr owne reason, doe open a windowe of great light unto the rest that is yet unscene; as namely, of the older Cæsar, Strabo, Tacitus, Ptolomie, Plinie, Pompeius Mela, and Berosus: of the later, Vincen-tius, Æneas Silvius, Luddus, Buckhanan; of all which I doe give most credit unto Buckhanan, for that he himself, being an Irish Scott or Picte by nation, and being very excellently learned, and industrious to seeke out the trueth of these thinges concerning the originall of his owne people, hath both sett downe the testimonies of the auncientes truly, and his

owne opinion, withall very reasonably, though in some things he doth somewhat flatter. Besides, the Bards and Irish Chroniclers themselves, though through desire of pleasing perhaps to much, and through ignoraunce of arte and purer learning, they have clouded the trueth of those times; yet there appeareth amongst them some reliques of the true antiquitye, though disguised, which a well-eyed man may hapely discover and find out.”²⁹

As Spenser made no effort to characterize the interlocutors in his dialogue, which is expository rather than dramatic, we are justified in accepting this as a statement of Spenser's own method.

Add to this the facts that Irenæus had Irish poems translated to him, and that such phrases as these are common in the *View of the Present State of Ireland*:—
 “. . . I have reade in many Historyes and Chronicles . . . ,”³⁰ “There be many greate authorityes . . . ,”³¹ “. . . so farre as I have learned the same from some of themselves, and gathered the rest by readinge”;³² “And first in this our realme of England, it is manifest, by reporte of the Chronicles and auncient writers of England”;³³ and, “I have reade in auncient recordes of England.”³⁴ Consider finally the comment of Eudoxus: “This ripping up of auncient historyes is very pleasing unto me, and indeede savoureth of goode conceite, and some reading withall.”³⁵

The very name Irenæus is a proof of Spenser's reading and of his tendency to borrow from his predecessors. In Holinshed there are long quotations from a Latin dialogue on Ireland, written by “one *M. Alan Cope*, or some other that masketh vnder hys visours.”³⁶ The interlocutors are

²⁹ *Spenser*, Globe ed., pp. 625–626.

³⁰ *Spenser*, Globe ed., p. 643.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 643.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 659.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 671.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 676.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 629.

³⁶ Hol., ed. 1577, II, *The Description of Ireland*, pp. 5 ff.

Irenæus, an Englishman, and Critobolus, a German. From this dialogue, either directly or through Holinshed, Spenser must have borrowed the name of Irenæus, and perhaps even the form in which he cast his work.

Both directly and indirectly, then, we gather from the *View of the Present State of Ireland* evidence as to Spenser's attitude toward chronicle histories. It would seem that he liked to read and compare them. He sifted evidence, preferred one authority to another, viewed the past by the light of the present, used reason as a test of truth, compared times, manners and customs, rites and ceremonies, gave thought to words and names, and even inspected monuments of churches and tombs, only to "gather a likelihood of trueth," and to "hunt out a probabilitie of thinges."

Yet with all this Spenser was no whit in advance of his times in his historical methods. He did not consistently reject such statements as were without a firm foundation of contemporary records. He was credulous of the printed word. He even, for all we know, accepted the History of the British kings as a veracious account of the past. Certainly he referred to King Arthur and to Gurgunt exactly as he referred, later in the same speech, to King Egfrid and Edgar.³⁷

Like his contemporaries, Spenser was interested in matters which seem to us insignificant trifles, but which then, dignified by the name of "antiquities," made the reputation

³⁷ *Spenser*, Globe ed., p. 629. But see also Appendix I of the Globe ed., p. 704, for evidence to the contrary in a passage printed by Ware, though marked for omission on the authority of the best manuscripts. "But the Irish doe heerein no otherwise then our vaine Englishmen doe in the Tale of Brutus, whom they devise to have first conquered and inhabited this land, it being as impossible to prove, that there was ever any such Brutus of Albion or England as it is that there was any such Gathelus of Spaine." This passage, if it expresses Spenser's real opinion, indicates a hesitancy in accepting the accounts of the more remote period of British history. Such hesitancy, however, would not necessarily extend to other parts of the British chronicle history. Furthermore, the omission of the passage in the best manuscripts suggests that Spenser did not wish to commit himself to any such expression of doubt.

of many learned antiquarians. Even Camden, most famous of them all, would enter into a long discussion of the nationality of Gormond, and repeat the tale of Gogmagog, and recount the wonders of England. All was grist that came to the mill of an antiquarian. We have William Lambarde, for instance, writing in the dedication prefixed to his *Perambulation of Kent*, "I . . . did not onely my selfe digge and rake together whatsoever I coulde of that kinde, but procured diuers of my friends also to set to their hands and doe the like." Now Spenser was at heart a topographer and an antiquarian, as well as a poet. Like his fellows, he found nothing too insignificant for his notice, and was capable of picking up a tenderly prized "authority" almost anywhere.

William Lambarde's book brings out another characteristic of the time. It was "written in the yeere 1570 . . . first published in the year 1576, and now increased and altered after the Authors owne last Copie," in 1596.³⁸ Constant revision, even after publication, was usual in the case of books that dealt with antiquities and topography, with details rather than principles. Such work is never complete. Therefore we should expect to find Spenser's work of this kind constantly revised and never done, for, as the *View of the Present State of Ireland* shows, he had a keen interest in matters of antiquarian detail.

In our study of Spenser's treatment of the rivers of Great Britain, we found that Spenser in 1580 was using the first edition of Holinshed and planning to supplement it from other sources. We found also that before 1596, when the last three books of the *Faerie Queene* were published, he was using Camden's *Britannia* and the second edition of Holinshed, and finally we saw in his work accuracy in the treatment of borrowed material alternating with freedom. From our study of the *View of the Present State of Ireland* we add the inferences that detail which seems insignificant

³⁸ Title page, ed. 1596, "Imprinted at London by Edm. Bollisant."

to us was of significance to him, that he believed in collecting material from any and every source, choosing here and rejecting there, though not on modern principles, and finally that he had a considerable knowledge of authors who dealt with chronicle history and similar subjects.

III

THE PROBABLE SOURCES OF SPENSER'S BRITISH CHRONICLE HISTORY

If Spenser was in the habit of collecting material from different books, as the preceding chapter indicates, it is clear that all probable sources for his chronicle of British kings must be examined. What, then, were these probable sources?

In the time of Spenser the story of the British kings existed both in manuscript and printed forms. The manuscripts were of two classes. The first class is composed of the older versions, such as Layamon's *Brut*, the *Chronicle* of "Robert of Gloucester," and the metrical chronicle printed by Ritson. The second class includes the work of those who were contemporary with Spenser, such a manuscript, for instance, as Harrison's *Chronologic*. The printed forms ranged from the original Geoffrey, composed about 1136, through Caxton, 1480, down to Holinshed, 1577, and Stow, 1580.

The first question that inevitably arises is, whether or no the manuscript versions of the history of the British kings are to be considered as probable sources. For the purpose of the present investigation the question has been answered in the negative. Manuscripts, it is true, were still owned and read by the Elizabethans,¹ although even in their time

¹ The chroniclers in the Elizabethan period naturally had recourse to manuscript material, and we find evidence of its use by others. Sir Henry Ellis, in the preface to his edition of Hardyng's *Chronicle* (pp. xiv-xvi), mentions seven manuscripts of the *Chronicle*, and of the fourth says that it "appears to have been, in 1604, in the collection of Peter Manwood, and cost, at that time, twenty shillings." He refers also to "fragments of another manuscript written upon paper, from an old family library in the country." The inference is that manuscripts existed in common use side by side with books.

printed books were more common, and were fast relegating to neglect all manuscripts that were not of contemporary interest. While recent writings circulated freely before they were printed, especially in select circles of the author's

Thomas Wright, in the introduction to *Feudal Manuals of English History* (London, 1872, pp. ix-xi), says that during the feudal period a synopsis of English history, written on rolls, was to be found in every manor house in England. The keeping of these rolls was a custom peculiar to England. The five that he prints are all brief. The English Roll begins with Brutus. Of similar character is the *Short English Chronicle* edited by Gairdner in *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, Camden Society, 1880.

Higgins, in his address to the reader (*Mirror for Magistrates*, ed. Haslewood, I, p. 7), refers to two manuscripts which he has used. "I haue seen no auncient antiquities in written hand but two: one was Galfridus of Munmouth, which I lost by misfortune; the other, an old chronicle in a kind of Englishe verse, beginning at Brute, and ending at the death of Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester; in the which and diuers other good chronicles I finde many thinges not mentioned in that great tome engroced of late by Maister Grafton; and that, where he is most barraine and wants matter." The chronicle in verse is supposed to be Hardyng's (see Perrett, *Story of King Lear*, p. 85). But a stanza in *Bladud* seems to indicate the use of another manuscript. The hot springs of Bath are described in the ninth stanza (pp. 116-117) as follows:

"Some saye I made the holesome Baths at Bathe,
And made therefore *two Tunnes* of burning *brasse*:
And other twayne seauen kindes of saltes that haue
In them inclos'd, but these be made of *glasse*,
With sulphur fild, wilde fire emixt there was,
And in foure welles these Tunnes so placed heate for aye
The water springing vp, before it passe away."

The source of this description seems to be the following lines from the metrical fragment found by Sir Fred. Madden in the Cotton copy of the *Chronicle* of "Robert of Gloucester":—

"*Two tunnes* there beth of *bras*,
And other *two imaked of glas*;
Seue saltes ther buth inne
And other thing imaked with ginne;
Quick brimston in other also,
With wilde fur imaked thereto;
Sal gemme and sal petre,
Sal armonac ther is eke;
Sal abrod, and sal alkyn,
Sal comin, and sal almetre bright,
That brenneth bothe day and night," etc.

(See Madden's edition of *Lagamon*, III, p. 318.) The italics indicate the resemblance of detail in the two descriptions, and a comparison with the accounts given in the other chronicles so far as they are now known, will not show these details elsewhere. Higgins,

friends, really old manuscripts do not seem to have been often read, and had probably, in some cases, been lost to sight and forgotten.² It must be admitted that chance might have thrown into Spenser's hands almost any manuscript then in existence. A visit in a country house might have left him with idle hours when he ransacked library shelves for amusement. He might have spent a morning in chapter-house or college library, reading some manuscript half illegible, or because of its old English, half incomprehensible. He might have talked of manuscripts with antiquarian friends and read treasures that they produced from their private stores. We have no clue, however, to guide us through the maze created by such conjectures. We could never come to a satisfactory conclusion. Many manuscripts are still unprinted, and probably many private chronicles which existed in Spenser's time have perished altogether. It has seemed best, therefore, in the absence of proof to the contrary, to assume that Spenser's sources will be found in the printed books of his time. Nevertheless, a list of the most significant manuscript versions of the *Historia* material is given below:—³

therefore, must have used the chronicle represented by this fragment, or some cognate source now lost. The manuscript, according to Sir Fred. Madden, is in a hand of the fifteenth century. It was quoted by Selden in his notes on Drayton's *Polyolbion*.

² Sir Fred. Madden (Introduction to his edition of *Lagamon*, p. vii), says that the first mention of *Lagamon* was by Archbishop Usher in *Britannicarum Eccles. Antiquitates*, 1639, and the next mention of him by Nicolson, in the eighteenth century.

³ This is by no means a complete list of the versions of the *Historia* which existed in manuscript in Spenser's time. For a full treatment of the chronicles which make use of this material, reference should be made to *Arthurian Material in the Chronicles*, by Robert Huntingdon Fletcher, Boston, 1906. Chronological tabulations of the chronicles may be found in *The Story of King Lear from Geoffrey of Monmouth to Shakspeare*, by Wilfrid Perrett, Berlin, 1904, in *Die Learsage vor Shakespeare*, by Emil Bode, Halle, 1904, and in *Die Locrinesage*, by Theodor Erbe, Halle, 1904. Reference should also be made to the *Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts Relating to the Early History of Great Britain*, ed. Hardy, Rolls Series, London, 1862, to the *Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum*, by H. L. D. Ward, and to the *Sources and Literature of English History from the earliest Times to about 1485*, by Charles Gross, 1900.

Earlier treatments of the chronicle material are the following:

Lazamon's *Brut*.

The *Chronicle* of "Robert of Gloucester."

The *Chronicle* of Robert Mannyng of Brunne.

The French *Brut*, known as the large *Brut*, composed about 1272.

The English *Brut*, a free translation of the French *Brut*, and the basis of Caxton's *Chronicles*. It is often referred to as "the *English Chronicle*."

William Harrison's *Great Chronologic*. This extends to February, 1592-3, but the earlier part had long been completed, and is frequently referred to in Holinshed.

When we put the manuscripts to one side, there remain the following books that were in print before 1590, and may have been consulted by Spenser:

I. Histories that in part cover the ground of the *Historia*.

Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, of which, according to Hardy,⁴ there had been nine continental editions before 1590, although no edition had been printed in England.

Gildas, *De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniac*, printed by Polydore Vergil, 1525; new edition by John Joscelyn (secretary to Archbishop Parker) 1568.

II. Books which present some of the material of the *Historia*, though not in chronicle form.

Perceforest, a French romance which includes a list of the British kings, Paris, 1528, 1532.

Mirror for Magistrates: the edition of 1571 was the first to contain the heroes and heroines of Geoffrey's story. These were Albanact, Humber, Locrinus, Elstride, Sabrine, Madan, Malim, Mempricius, Bladud, Cordila, Morgan, Ferrex, Porrex, Kimarus, Morindus, and Nennius. The edition of 1578 added Guiderius, Carassus, Hellina, Vortiger, Pengragon, and Cadwallader. The additions in 1587 were Jago, Brennus, Cæsar, and Guiderius.

The English Historical Library, by William Nicolson, London, 1607; *A Manual of British Historians to A.D., 1600*, containing a Chronological Account of the Early Chroniclers and Monkish Writers, their Printed Works and Unpublished MSS., by William Dunn Macray, London, 1845; and *Early Chroniclers of England*, by James Gairdner, London, 1879.

⁴ Hardy, *Cat. of MSS.*, I, pp. 442-443.

Itinerarium Cambriae, by Giraldus Cambrensis, published by Powel, London, 1585.

Camden's *Britannia*, 1586.

Albion's England, by William Warner, 1586. This includes accounts of Brutus, Guendoleyne, Memprius (brief), Leir, Ferrex and Porrex, Dunwallo, Brenn and Belyn or Beline (at length), the sons of Morindus, the invasion by Cæsar, a brief mention of several kings, then accounts of Voada or Voadicia, Constantine, Vortiger, Arthur (with the romance attributes omitted), and Cadwallader.⁵

III. Geoffrey's *Historia*, and the chronicles based upon it.

Geoffrey's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, printed at Paris, 1508 and 1517, and at Heidelberg, by Commeline, in *Rerum Britannicarum Scriptores*, 1587.⁶

Caxton, *Chronicles of England*, printed by Caxton, 1480 and 1483, and by W. de Worde, 1497, 1502, 1515, 1520, and 1528.⁷

Ralph Higden, *Polychronicon*, translated by Trevisa, printed by Caxton, 1482, by W. de Worde, 1495, by Peter Treveris, 1527.

* Jacobus Philippus Foresti, Bergomensis, *Supplementum Cronicarum*, first edition, Venice, 1486.⁸

Robert Fabyan, *The New Chronicles of England and France*, London, 1516, 1533, 1542, 1559.

⁵ Warner (p. 351) acknowledges indebtedness to "our learned and studious Antiquarie Master Camden, in such as is by him circumspectly set downe in his well-meriting work, intituled *Britannia*: out of which I confesse my selfe to haue gleaned not a little apting to this our abridged Historie."

⁶ Bode (*Die Learsage vor Shakespeare*, p. 140 f.) gives also a French translation, 1498, and an English translation, 1529. I have found no other mention of these.

⁷ For other editions, see Gross, *Sources and Literature of English History*, p. 272, No. 1733.

⁸ The Latin chroniclers who give brief summaries of the *Historia*, but seem to have been without influence in England, have been omitted from this list. Foresti is included because he appears to be the author quoted by Holinshed and Stow under the title "Bergomas." For these chroniclers, see Fletcher, *Arthurian Material in the Chronicles*, pp. 239 ff.

Johannes Nauclerus, *Memorabilium omnis aetatis et omnium Gentium Chronici Comentarü*, Tübingen, 1516; Köln, 1579.

Alain Bouchart, *Les Grandes Croniques de Bretagne*, 1518, 1531, 1532, 1541, 1545.

John Rastell, *The Pastime of People*, London, 1529.

Polydore Vergil, *Anglicae Historiae Libri XXVI*, printed at Basle, 1534, 1546, 1555, 1556, 1556-7, 1570.

Ponticus Virunnus, *Britannicae Historiae Libri sex*, at Augsburg, 1534; by Powel, 1585; by Commeline, 1587. This is an abridgment of the first six books of Geoffrey.

John Hardyng, *Chronicle*, two editions printed by R. Grafton, London, 1543.

Wace's *Brut*, Paris, 1543, 1584.

* Arthur Kelton, *A Chronycle with a Genealogie . . . Newly compyled in Metre*, printed by Grafton, London, 1547.

Thomas Cooper, *Epitome of Chronicles*, earlier part by Thomas Lanquet, London, 1549, 1554, 1559, 1560, 1565, 1569.

* Gyles Godet, *Chronicle*, London, 1560.⁹

Richard Grafton, *Abridgment of the Chronicles of England*, 1562, 1563, 1564, 1570, 1572.¹⁰

John Stow, *Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles*, 1565, 1567, 1570, 1573, 1575, 1579, 1584, 1587.

Richard Grafton, *Manuell of the Chronicles of England*, 1565.

Flores Historiarum, Matthew of Westminster, London, 1567, 1570; Matthew Paris, 1571.

Richard Grafton, *Chronicle at Large*, London, 1569.

* Humphrey Llwyd, *Comentarioli Descriptionis Britannicae Fragmentum*, 1572; translated into English by

⁹ Only two copies are known to exist, one in the collection of Earl Spencer, the other in that of Thomas Grenville. See *Mirror for Magistrates*, ed. Haslewood. Introduction, pp. vii-x.

¹⁰ The editions vary in details. See Fletcher, *Arthurian Material in the Chronicles*, p. 264.

Thomas Twyne, and published under the title *The Breuiary of Britayne*, 1573.¹¹

Raphael Holinshed, *The Chronicles of Englande, Scotlande, and Ireland*, 1577; revised edition, 1587.

David Chambers, *Histoire abrégée*, Paris, 1579.

John Stow, *The Chronicles of England*, London, 1580; under the title, *The Annales of England*, London, 1584.

The chronicles that are marked in the list above with an asterisk have been inaccessible, but all the others have been examined as possible sources for Spenser's chronicle history.¹²

¹¹ The asterisk applies only to the Latin version.

¹² Five of these chronicles I have not seen myself. My thanks are due to Miss Rose Jeffries Peebles for her examination of the copy of Naclerus in the Peabody Library, Baltimore, and to Miss Beulah Marie Dix for a study of Cooper's *Epitome*, 1547, Grafton's *Abridgment*, 1572, Stow's *Summarie*, 1567, and Twyne's *Breuiary of Britayne*, 1572, all in the British Museum.

IV

THE METHOD OF THE PRESENT INVESTIGATION

In Spenser's time Geoffrey's *Historia* was recognized as the chief source of the British chronicle. Stow, for instance, writes, "I hope it shall be sufficient in this History for the Britaines time, to follow the authority of the received British History, which Geoffrey, Archdeacon of Monmouth, translated out of the British tongue about 400. yeeres since, beginning with Brute. . . ." ¹ Even the controversy as to the authenticity of Geoffrey's history which raged after the time of Polydore Vergil served only to make the name of Geoffrey better known. Therefore, as the *Historia* existed both in printed form and in many manuscripts, ² there is a strong antecedent probability that Spenser was familiar with it.

This probability receives strong confirmation from an examination of the material before us. Although the chronicles repeated the facts in Geoffrey's *Historia*, few reproduced the continuous narrative as a whole. Such books as the *Polychronicon*, the *Memorabilium* of Nauclerus, the *Flores Historiarum*, the *Epitome* of Lanquet and Cooper, and the *Histoire abrégée* of Chambers break the story into fragments and scatter these fragments at considerable intervals in the midst of other material. Furthermore, they often strip Geoffrey's story to a bare outline. To piece together a coherent, flesh-and-blood narrative from these frag-

¹ Stow, *Annales*, ed. Howes, 1631, p. 6.

² For lists of the MSS. of the *Historia*, see Hardy's *Descriptive Catalogue*, I, pp. 341-350, and Ward's *Catalogue of Romances*, I, pp. 220-250.

ments and so build up a new Geoffrey would be almost impossible. Equally difficult would it be to restore Geoffrey's narrative from the form in which it appears in Hardyng, Fabyan, Grafton, Holinshed, and Stow, for in these authors the desire for historical accuracy has led to corrections and additions from Roman and Anglo-Saxon accounts, together with long arguments about the conflicting stories. Not even Caxton, who reproduces the English *Brut*, holds strictly to the original, for beside having surprising variations in proper names, and omissions, such as the omission of the four kings after Rivallo, his version gives the inserted story of Argenteil and Curan, and thus changes the course of the narrative to such an extent that the Geoffrey story could not be reproduced from it. Spenser's narrative, on the contrary, follows Geoffrey's, reign by reign, with only three variations,—the omission of Arthur's reign because of the plot of the *Facie Queene*, the omission of Guiderius, which resulted in fusing his reign with Kimbeline's, and the addition of the story of Bonduca, which is neatly inserted in the most convenient place, without regard to other chronicles which also give the story of Bonduca.³ Spenser shows a knowledge of the *Historia* material as a whole,⁴ and notwithstanding his alteration of details, he has reproduced the outlines of the narrative with accuracy. This in itself creates a strong presumption in favor of Geoffrey as one of Spenser's sources.

A glance at the proper names that Spenser uses brings us again to the same conclusion. The names which appeared in Geoffrey's Latin suffered many changes. English forms were substituted. Mis-spelling, mis-reading, mispronunciation, deliberate distortion for the sake of accent or rhyme in verse, and confusion with other stories, all

³ See pp. 115-120, below.

⁴ It should be noted here that the *Historia* is the ultimate or partial source of some of Spenser's material which is not strictly speaking British Chronicle History, and which has therefore been omitted in this dissertation. Such is Spenser's account of Merlin (F. Q., III, 3, 7-13), and his imitation of Merlin's prophecies (F. Q., III, 3, 47-49).

added to the variety of nomenclature. In Caxton's *Chronicle* Raynolde has replaced Rivallo, Hesider stands for Elidure, and Marius has become Westmer. Hardyng's *Chronicle* shows similar changes. The later chroniclers, such as Grafton, Stow, and Holinshed, retain these variations, but place side by side with them the forms in Geoffrey, and use either indifferently throughout the narrative. From Caxton and Hardyng it would be impossible to reproduce the names of the British kings in Geoffrey, and it is improbable that anyone could pick and choose among the various forms in the later English chronicles so as to get together a majority of Geoffrey's names. From the Latin world-chronicles such as the *Polychronicon* it would be more possible to do this so far as the forms of the names are concerned, but the fact that they are scattered so far apart brings in a new difficulty, and makes the reproduction of a long list of them improbable from this source too. Now Spenser's names, to a considerable extent, either reproduce Geoffrey's form exactly or give a natural English form, stripped of the Latin ending.⁵ Oc-

⁵ I append a list of the proper nouns in Spenser, with their equivalents in the two early printed editions of Geoffrey's *Historia*, 1508 and 1517, and in the San Marte edition. A glance will show that in general they correspond. The forms that are used by the later chroniclers will appear in the discussion, pp. 38 ff., below.

Spenser.	G. of M., Paris, 1508.	G. of M., Paris, 1517.	G. of M., San Marte ed.
Albion	albion	Albion	Albion
Brutus	Brutus	Brutus	Brutus
Goëmot	goemagot	Goemagot	Goemagot
Corineus	Corineus	Corineus	Corineus
Inogene	Ignogen	Ignogen	Ignogen
Locrine	Locrinus	Locrinus	Locrinus
Albanact	Albanactus	Albanactus	Albanactus
Camber	Kamber	Kamber	Kamber
Albania	albaniā	Albaniā	Albania
Severne	sabrinū flumen	Sabrinum flumen	Sabrinum flumen
Logris	loegria	Loegria	Loegria
Humber	hüber	Hüber	Humber
Estrild	estrildis	Estrildis	Estrildis
Guendolene	guëndoloena	Guendoloena	Guendoloena
Sabrina	habren and brina	Sa-Habren and brina	Sa-Sabren and brina
Madan	madan	Madan	Maddan

casionally such a name as Leill shows the influence of later chroniclers. But sometimes Spenser uses a form which he could scarcely have found except in Geoffrey. He is, for instance, close to Geoffrey's Goemagot with his Goemot

Spenser.	G. of M., Paris, 1508.	G. of M., Paris, 1517.	G. of M., San Marte ed.
Memprise	Menp̃cius	Menp̃cius	Mempricius
Manild	manlio	Manlio	Malim
Ebranc	ebrancus	Ebrancus	Ebraucus
Leill	Leir	Leir	Leir
Cairleill	Kaerleir	Kaerleir	Kaerleir
Huddibras	hurdibras	Hurdibras	Hudibras
Bladud	Baldudus	Baldudus	Bladud
Cairbadon	Kaerbadum	Kaerbadum	Kaerbadus
Leyr	Leir	Leir	Leir
Gonorill	genorilla	Genorilla	Gonorilla
Regan	regana	Ragana	Regan
Cordelia }	cordeilla	Cordeilla	Cordeilla
Cordeill }			
Aganipp	Aganippus	Aganippus	Aganippus
Maglan	maglaunus	Maglaunus	Maglaunus
Morgan	marganus	Marganū	Marganus
Cundah	cunedagius	Cunedagiū	Cunedagius
Rivall'	riuallo	Riuallo	Rivallo
Gurgustus	gurgustius	Gurgustius	Gurgustius
Cacily	sisillius	Sisillius	Sisillius
Lago	iago	Lago	Lago
Kinmarke	Kinimacus	Kinimacus	Kinmarcus
Gorbogud	gorbodug	Gorbodug	Gorbodug
Ferrex	ferrex	Ferrex	Ferrex
Porrex	porrex	Porrex	Porrex
Wyden	Widē	Widē	Widen
Ymner	piremē	Piranē	Ymner
Ruddoc	rudaucus	Rudaucus	Rudaucus
Stater	staterius	Staterius	Staterius
Donwallo	dūuallo	Dūuallo	Dunvallo
Brennus	brēnius	Brēnus	Brennius
Belinus	belinus	Belinus	Belinus
Gurgiunt	gurguitus	Gurguintus	Gurgiunt
Guitheline	guinthelinus	Guinthelinus	Guithelinus
Mertia	martia	Martia	Martia
Sisillus	sisillius	Sisillius	Sisilius
Kimarus	Kimarus	Kimarus	Kimarus
Danius	elanius	Elanius	Danius
Morindus	moridus	Moridus	Morvidus
Morands	morianorum	Maurorum	Moranorum
	(gen. case)	(gen. case)	(gen. case)
Gorboman	gorbonianus	Gorbonianus	Gorbonianus
Archigald	archigallo	Archigallo	Arthgallo
Elidure	elidurus	Elidurus	Elidurus
Vigent	vigenius	Vigenius	Vigenius
Peridure	peredurus	Peredurus	Peredurus

(F. Q., II, 10, 10), and later gives Geoffrey's form exactly (F. Q., III, 9, 50). So, too, he agrees with Geoffrey in the name Hudibras, which, in every other source that I have seen, appears as Rudhudibras, or Rudibras (Polydore

Spenser.	G. of M., Paris, 1508.	G. of M., Paris, 1517.	G. of M., San Marte ed.
Hely	hely	Hely	Hely
Lud	lud	Lud	Lud
Cassibalane	cassibellānum ..	Cassibellānū	Cassibellaunus
Nennius	neurium	Neurium	Nennius
Androgeus	androgeus	Androgeus	Androgeus
Tenantius	tēnācius	Tenācius	Tenuantius
Kimbeline	Kymbellinus ..	Kymbellinus	Kymbelinus
Claudius	claudius	Claudius	Claudius
Arvirage	aruiragus	Aruiragus	Arviragus
Genuissa	gennissa	Gennissa	Genuissa
Marius	marius	Marius	Marius
Coyll	coillus	Coillus	Coillus
Lucius	lucius	Lucius	Lucius
Fulgent	fulgenius	Fulgenius	Fulgenius
Severus	seuerus	Seuerus	Severus
Carausius	carassius	Carassius	Carausius
Allectus	alectū	Alectū	Allectus
Asclepiodate	asclepiodotus ..	Asclepiodotus ..	Asclepiodotus
Coylchester	colcestrīæ	Colcestræ	Colecestrīæ
Coyll	coel	Coel	Coel
Constantius	constantinus	Cōstātinus	Constantius
Helena	helena	Helena	Helena
Constantine	cōstātinus	Cōstātinus	Constantinus
Traherne	traherū	Traherū	Trahern
Octavius	Octavius	Octavius	Octavius
Maximian	maximianus	Maximianus	Maximianus
Gratian	Gratianus	Gratianus	Gratianus
Vortigere, Vortiger	vortegirrus	Vortegirrus	Vortegirrus
Aurelius	aurelius ambro-	Aurelius Ambro-	Aurelius Ambro-
Ambrose	sius	sius	sius
Uther Pendragon	vtherpendragon ..	Vtherpendragon ..	Utherpendragon
Horsus	horsus	Horsus	Horsus
Hengist	hēgistus	Hēgistus	Hengistus
Vortimere	vortunerus	Vortunerus	Vortimerus
Stoneheng, Stonheng	stranheng	Stranheng	Stanheng
Cador	cadorem	Cadorem	Cadorem
Vortipore	vortiporius	Vortiporius	Wortiporius
Malgo	malgo	Malgo	Malgo
Careticus	catericus	Catericus	Careticus
Gormond	godmūdū	Godmūdū	Gormundus
Etheldred	edelfridus	Edelfridus	Ethelfridus
Augustine	Augustinus	Augustinus	Augustinus
Brockwell	broemael	Broemael	Brocmail
Cadwan	Caduanus	Caduanus	Caduanus

Vergil) or, as in Holinshed, Lud or Ludhurdibras. The evidence of the names, then, goes to prove that Spenser used Geoffrey as a source.

For the three reasons given above — i. e. the antecedent probability that Spenser knew the “received British history” of his time, the coincidence in the general outlines of the two chronicles, and the similarity of a large proportion of the proper names — it will be assumed in the following analysis that the basis of Spenser’s chronicle is Geoffrey’s *Historia*. When Spenser’s chronicle agrees with the *Historia*, there will be no need to seek further for his source, even though the same story is to be found in many or all of the other versions.

Next to Geoffrey the most probable source of Spenser’s chronicle is Holinshed’s great work, the most pretentious, the largest, and, except for Stow’s, the latest of all the chronicles, and, moreover, a book with which Spenser was certainly familiar.⁶ When Spenser differs from Geoffrey

Spenser.	G. of M., Paris, 1508.	G. of M., Paris, 1517.	G. of M., San Marte ed.
Cadwallin	caduallo	Caduallo	Cadwallo
Pellite	pellitus	Pellitus	Pellitus
Edwin	eduinus	Eduinus	Edwinus
Oswald	oswaldus	Oswaldus	Oswaldus
Oswin	osun	Osunus	Oswius
Penda	peanda	Peāda	Peanda
Offricke	offridus	Offridus	Offridus
Osricke	offrido	offrido	Osricus
Cadwallader	cadualladrus	Cadualladrus	Cadwalladrus
Octa	octa	Octa	Octa
Oza	cosa	Cosa	Eosa

The above list makes it seem probable that Spenser was using a manuscript copy of Geoffrey. Many of the names reproduce, not the form of the early editions, but that which appears in the San Marte edition. See, for instance, Memprise, Huddibras, Bladud, Gonorilla, Regan, Kinmarke, Ymner, Gurgiunt, Guitheline, Danius, Nennius, Genuissa, Carausius, Constantius, Traherne, Vortimere, Careticus, and Gormond. The names Ymner, Danius, Nennius, Vortimere, and Careticus show an especially marked variation from the early editions. On the other hand, Madan, Manlio, Ebranck, Morindus, and Archgald resemble the forms which are found in the early editions and not those in the San Marte edition, and Brennus and Tenantius coincide with the form of these names found in the 1517 edition.

⁶ See p. 10 and pp. 12-15, above.

and in so doing repeats information which Holinshed gives, it is a natural inference that Holinshed is his source. In the following pages, therefore, Spenser's story has first been compared with Geoffrey's and next with Holinshed's. Whatever remains unaccounted for has then been traced, so far as possible, to other sources. At the same time an effort has been made to note any verbal coincidences that might help to fix Spenser's source. When some version other than Geoffrey's or Holinshed's seems manifestly to be Spenser's source, that version has been placed next after Holinshed's. Other material that for any reason seems important follows in chronological order.

The quotations from Holinshed are drawn from the first edition, with which Spenser was certainly acquainted.⁷ But as the description of the rivers of Great Britain⁸ indicates Spenser's knowledge of the second edition also, I have compared the second edition with the first, and noted the few variations that seem significant.

Similarities of phrase are marked by a correspondence in the type used. If a passage in Spenser seems to reproduce a passage in Geoffrey, both are printed in italics. If it reproduces a passage in Holinshed, both passages are printed in small Roman capitals. If it is like a passage in any other possible source, black face type has been used.

⁷ See Spenser's letter to Harvey, *Spenser*, Globe ed., p. 709. See also Appendix, p. 187, below, for a discussion of the possibility that Spenser's chronicle was composed at a comparatively early date as a separate poem, and afterwards incorporated with the *Faerie Queene*.

⁸ F. Q., IV, 11. See pp. 15-19, above.

V

A COMPARISON OF SPENSER'S CHRONICLE WITH ITS POSSIBLE SOURCES

A. BOOK II, CANTO 10.

The agreement between the general outline of Spenser's chronicle and that of the *Historia* does not begin until the account of the arrival of Brutus, stanza nine. The previous stanzas (5-8) are based rather on passages in the later chronicles, and are substituted for Geoffrey's chapter on the geography of Britain (I, 2). The early adventures of Brutus (Geoffrey I, 3-15), are omitted from Spenser's chronicle, but appear later in the *Faerie Queene* in Paridell's speech to Britomart (III, 9, 48-51). Spenser preferred in the chronicle proper to make direct transition, first from the island to the giants that inhabited it, and second from the giants to the coming of their conquerors, Brutus and his men. He thus avoided shifting the scene of his narrative from the island.

5. The land which warlike Britons now possesse,
And therein have their mighty empire raysd,
In antique times was salvage wildernessse,
Unpeopled, unmannurd, unprov'd, unpraysd;
Ne was it Island then, ne was it paysd
Amid the ocean waves, ne was it sought
Of merchants farre for profits therein praysd;
But was all desolate, and of some thought
By sea to have bene from the celticke maynland brought.

Hol., Hist., p. 1.

“ . . . it semeth by the report of Dominicus Marius Niger y^t in the beginning, when God framed the worlde, and diuided the waters aparte from the earth, this Isle was then a parcel of the continent, & ioyned without any separation of sea to the mayne lande.”

Camd., Brit., ed. 1590, p. 1.

“ Inter Cantium enim, & Caletum Galliae, ita in altum se euehit, & adeo in arctum mare agitur, ut perfossas ibi **terras antea exclusa admisisse maria opinentur nonnulli**, opinionisque suae assertores adferunt Virgilium in illo versu,

‘Et penitus toto diuisos orbe Britannos:’

Quia, inquit Servius Honoratus, *olim juncta erat continenti Britannia.*”

This stanza is little more than an expansion of one of Holinshed’s opening sentences, although the phrasing of the last two lines seems to show also the influence of Camden.

6. Ne did it then deserve a name to have,
Till that the venturous **Mariner** that way
Learning his ship from those **white rocks** to save,
Which all along the southerne sea-coast lay
Threatning unheedy wrecke and rash decay,
For safety that same his sea-marke made,
And namd it ALBION: But later day,
Finding in it fit ports for fishers trade,
Gan more the same frequent, and further to invade.

G. of M., I, 16, l. 1, p. 18.

“Erat tunc nomen insulae Albion . . .”

Hol., Hist., p. 6. The giant Albion, son of Neptune, was chief ruler of the island, which took its name from him:

“ . . . yet there be dyuers opinyons how it came by that name: for many doe not allow of this historie of Albion the Giaunte.” A marginal note says, “Diuers opinions why thys Ile was called Albion. See more hereof in the description.”

Descr. of Br., p. 1 b. The story of the giant Albion is told at length.

Ed. 1587, Vol. I, Descr. of Br., ch. 3, p. 3. In a passage inserted before the story of Albion it is said that Goropius “is brought into great doubt, whether Britaine was called Albion of the word *Alb*, white; or *Alp*, an hill; as *Bodinus* is no less troubled with fetching the same *ab Olbijs*, or as he wresteth it, *ab Albijs gallis*.”

Hardyng, ch. 6, p. 30.

“But Bartholomew de proprietatibus rerum,
Sayth howe this ysle of Albion had name
Of the see bankes full whyte, all or sum,
That circuyte the ysle; as shyppes came,
Fro ferrome sene, as thei, through the see fame,
Sailed by & by, for rypes and **roches whyte**
To shipmen were greate gladnesse and delyte.
“But Maryan saith, the [chronicler to sewe],
That dame Albion was the first that named it so.
Both two might be together [clere and trewe,]” etc.

Bartholomew, De Proprietatibus Rerum, Bk. 15, ch. 14.

“Englonde is the moost ylonde of Ocean & is biclypped al aboute w^t the see & departyd fro the roundnesse of the world & hyghte som tyme Albion. And hadde that name of whyte roches whyche were seen on the see clyves . . .”

Caxton, Descr. of Br., ch. 3.

“Othir saye that this lond was named Albion as it where the white londe of white rockes aboute the cliues of the sea that were seyne fro ferre.”

Fabyan, p. 7.

"The whiche so toke firste name, as wytnessyth Strabo and other wryters, of the whyte Clyves or Rockes that stande vpon the sees syde, and are ferre seen in clere wether and bryght dayes, wherof it was of olde wryters named Albyon, as it were the whyte Lande . . ."

Grafton, p. 25.

"Another opinion is (which hath a more honest similitude) that it was named *Albion*, *ab Albis rupibus*, that is, of white rockes, because that vnto them that come by sea from the east or south, the bankes and rockes of this isle do apere white."

Grafton, however, does not himself accept this derivation.

Spenser could have taken from Geoffrey, in this passage, only the name Albion, but he could have found elsewhere, in many places, the statement that this name was given to the island because of the white rocks on the sea-shore. In Holinshed, however, a different story is told to account for the name, and only in the second edition is even a passing reference made to the derivation of Albion from *alb*, white. Among the authorities in which Spenser's story appears is Grafton, who restricts these rocks to the Eastern and Southern shores, and suggests also the point of view of "them that come by Sea." This thought is even more fully expressed by Hardyng, who says that the white banks are seen from afar as the ships come sailing by, and the shipmen find in them "greate gladnesse and delyte." From this may easily have developed Spenser's idea that the "white rocks" served as a sea-mark which guided the mariner to safety. Such service would account for their being "gladnesse and delyte." Grafton and Hardyng, confirming each other, may both have influenced Spenser, though the influence of Grafton would have been in itself slight. Hardyng, indeed, may conceivably have been the sole source of the material in Spenser's stanza.

Beside the source of the material there is, as regards this stanza, another consideration. The derivation that Spenser gives is in most chronicles only one of several possible derivations. In stating it authoritatively and alone Spenser is at variance with Grafton, who mentions it only to reject it, and from Hardyng, who adds the story of Dame Albion and, unable to give up either, suggests that "both two might be together." He is in accordance, however, with the older authorities, such as Bartholomew and Caxton. Whether he was intentionally reverting to them, or merely rejecting the other derivations as improbable or inartistic, it is impossible to decide.

We may conclude that Spenser used neither Geoffrey nor Holinshed as a source for this stanza, but drew from Grafton and Hardyng, or from Hardyng alone, and was either independent in handling the material he borrowed, or was further influenced by still older authorities, such as Bartholomew and Caxton.

7. But far in land a salvage nation dwelt
 Of hideous Giaunts, and HALFE BEASTLY MEN,
 THAT NEVER TASTED GRACE, NOR GOODNES FELT;
 But wild like beastes lurking in loathsome den,
 And flying fast as Roebucke through the fen,
 All naked without shame or care of cold,
 By hunting and by spoiling liveden;
 Of stature huge, and eke of corage bold,
 That sonnes of men amazd their sternnesse to behold.

G. of M., I, ch. 11, ll. 75-76, p. 13.

"Insula in Oceano est habitata Gygantibus olim,
 Nunc deserta quidem: gentibus apta tuis."

I, ch. 16, l. 1 f., p. 18.

"Erat tunc nomen insulae Albion, quae a nemine, exceptis paucis gygantibus, inhabitabatur . . ."

Hol., Hist., p. 5 f.

"This Albion (that thus chaunged the name of this Isle) and his companie, are called Gyants, which signifieth none other than a tall kind of men, of that uncorrupte stature and highnesse naturally incident to the first age (which Berosus also seemeth to allow, where he writeth, that Noe was one of the Gyantes: and were not so called only of their monstrous greatnesse, as the common people thinke (although in deede they exceeded the vsuall stature of men nowe in these dayes, (but also for y^t they tooke their name of the soyle where they were born: for *Gigantes* signifieth THE SONS OF THE EARTH: the *Aborigines* (or as Cesar calleth them *Indiginac*,) that is, BORNE AND BRED OUT OF THE EARTH WHERE THEY INHABITED . . . When Albion chiefe Capitayn of the Gyants was slayn, the residue that remayned at home in the Isle, continued without any rule or restraint of lawe, in so muche that THEY FELL TO SUCH A DISSOLUTE ORDER OF LYFE, THAT THEY SEEMED LITTLE OR NOTHING TO DIFFER FROM BRUTE BEASTES: and those are they which our auncient Chronicles call the Giants . . . (sithens as before is sayd, that age brought foorth far greater men than are now liuing)

p. 9. "Hitherto haue wee spoken of them that inhabited this land before the commyng of Brute, although some will needs haue it, that he was the firste which inhabited y^t same with his people, descended of the Troyans, some few Giaunts onely excepted whome hee utterly destroyed, and lefte not one of them alyue through the whole Isle."

Camd., Brit., p. 115.

"Vnde Poeta quidam satis antiquus, cum Gigantes quosdam Britannicos describeret, sic lusit de Britannia loquens

Titanibus illa

Sed paucis famulosa domus, quibus vda ferarum
Terga dabant vestes, cruor haustus, pocula trunci,
Antra lares, dumeta thoros, coenacula rupes,
Praeda cibos, raptus Venerem, spectacula caedes,
Imperium vires, animos furor, impetus arma,
Mortem pugna, sepulchra rubus, monstrisque gemebat
Monticolis tellus, sed eorum plurima tractus
Pars erat occidui, terror majorque premebat
Te furor, extremum Zephyri Cornubia limen."

Geoffrey's statement that the island of Albion was inhabited by giants was quickly elaborated¹ and Spenser followed the later accounts. In describing the giants as

"half beastly men
That never tasted grace, nor goodnes felt,"

he apparently took a hint from Holinshed, who says that "they seemed little or nothing to differ from brute beastes," but the rest of the stanza, which compares the giants to beasts for another reason, namely, the wildness of their lives, seems to have been suggested rather by the Latin verses which Camden quotes. Although Spenser's giants differ from those of the Latin verses in going naked, instead of wearing clothes of skin, like them they dwell in caves and live by hunting. Spenser's description of the giants seems, therefore, to have been based on Holinshed, and on the Latin verses quoted by Camden, which Spenser may have known in their original form, or only through Camden.

8. But whence they sprong, or how they were begott,
Uneath is to assure; uneath to wene
That monstrous error, which doth some assott,
That Dioclesians fifty daughters shene
INTO THIS LAND BY CHAUNCE HAVE DRIVEN BENE;
Where, companing with feends and filthy **Sprights**
Through vaine illusion of their lust unclene,
They brought forth Geaunts, and such dreadful wights
As far exceeded men in their immeasurd mights.

9. They held this land, and with their filthinesse
Polluted this same gentle soyle long time;
That their owne mother loathd their beastlinesse,
And gan abhorre her broods unkindly crime,
All were they BORNE OF HER OWNE NATIVE SLIME:²

¹ See Ward, *Cat. of Romances*, I, pp. 100-203. Ward catalogues six Latin MSS. *De Origine Gigantum*. Three are bound with Geoffrey's *Historia* and a fourth is written as an introduction to it.

² See p. 43, above.

*Hol., Hist., pp. 5, 6, 10, 8, and 9.*³ In two separate paragraphs, one on page 5 at the top of the second column, and the other on page 6 in the middle of the second column, Holinshed states that the giants are said to be sprung from the earth. He tells at length the story of those whom Spenser calls "Dioclesians fifty daughters." "These Ladies thus imbarqued and left to the mercie of the raging seas, AT LENGTH BY HAP WERE BROUGHT TO YE COASTS OF THIS YLE. . . ." They "met with no other inhabitantes than the rude and sauage giauntes of whome before we haue made mencion, which our historians for their beastly kynde of lyfe, doe call Deuilles. . . ." Afterward they "ingendred a race of people in proportion nothing differing from their fathers that begote them, nor in conditions from their mothers that bare them." But, according to Holinshed, these ladies were not Dioclesian's daughters, for the name Dioclesianus he takes to be a mistaken substitute for the correct name, Danaus. Even with this correction Holinshed hesitates to vouch for the truth of the story, "sith I see not how either in this, or in other things of suche antiquitie we can haue any sufficient warrant otherwyse than by lykely coniectures."

Hardyng, pp. 25 ff. Hardyng tells of the thirty daughters of Dioclesian who came to this island. He then denies that story and tells of the fifty daughters of Danao. So greatly did they desire husbands

"that **spyrites**, in mannes forme,
Lay by them their desyres to performe.

* * * * * * *

The spyrites gatte children y^t were gyauntes tyte."
(*Ch. 5, p. 29.*)

The Brut, p. 4. The daughters of Dioclician desired husbands. The devil sent them spirits in the form of men, and "after thei broughten forth Geauntes, of which on me

³ The pages are given in the order in which they occur. Errors in pagination are frequent in the 1577 edition.

called Gogmagog, and another Laughherigan . . . &
 they dwellyd in Cauys & in hulles at here will . . . ”

The account of the giants is continued in these two stanzas with details in no way suggested by Geoffrey. The wonder as to the origin of the giants expressed in the beginning of the eighth stanza and the reference in the ninth stanza to the one mother from whose “owne native slime” they were born, both seem to refer to the theory that they were “sons of the earth,” and to originate in Holinshed’s repeated assertions to that effect. From Holinshed may have come, also, Spenser’s doubt as to the story of Dioclesian’s daughters. But the influence of Holinshed on the story itself is less certain, for Spenser has retained the name Dioclesian, which Holinshed insists is a mistaken substitution for Danao. There seem to have been two stories in existence, one the story of Danao’s fifty daughters, the other the story of Dioclesian’s thirty or thirty-three daughters. Both are given by Hardyng, but only the story of Dioclesian’s daughters appears in the English *Brut*.⁴ This was apparently the older of the two. So in retaining the name Dioclesian Spenser was deliberately rejecting the newer story. A significant fact is that he did not at the same time change the number of the daughters from fifty to thirty or thirty-three. It is probable that he was following Holinshed except in refusing to substitute Danao for Dioclesian. In one respect, however, Spenser shows the influence of some other authority. His account of the spirits that became the fathers of the giants is certainly based on the account that appears both in the English *Brut* and in Hardyng, from either of which sources he may have taken it. In these stanzas, then, Spenser seems to have followed Holinshed in the main, but to have been influenced also by the older versions of the story of Dioclesian’s daughters, particularly by the one that appears in the English *Brut* and in Hardyng.

⁴ See *The Brut*, E. E. T. S., pp. 1-4.

9, ll. 6 ff. Until that Brutus, anciently deriv'd
From roiall stocke of old Assaracs line,
Driven by fatall error here arriv'd,
And them of their unjust possession depriv'd.

G. of M., I, 3, pp. 5-6. The descent of Brutus from Aeneas, through Ascanius and Silvius, is given.

Hol., Hist., p. 9. Holinshed repeats Geoffrey's account.

Virgil, Georg., 3, 35.

"Assaraci proles."

Spenser's reference to "old Assaracs line" is an evidence of his classical reading, and a new way of expressing the descent of Brutus from Æneas. The account is so brief that it offers no clue to Spenser's direct source, but with the mention of Brutus Spenser takes up the narrative in Geoffrey's *Historia*, so that Geoffrey may be assumed to have been his source.

10. But ere he had established his throne,
And spred his empire to the utmost shore,
He fought great batteils with his salvage fone;
In which he them defeated evermore,
And many Giaunts left on groning flore:

G. of M., I, 16, ll. 4 ff., p. 18.

"Peragratis ergo quibusque provinciis, repertos gygantes in cavernas montium fugant, patriamque donante duce sortiuntur."

Hol., Hist., p. 15.

"But as he" (Brutus) "thus trauayled to discover the state and commodities of the ylande, he was encountred by diuers strong & mightie Giauntes, whom he destroyed and slewe, or rather subdued them, with all suche other people, as hee founde in the Ilande, whiche were more in number

undoubtedly than by report of some authors, it shoulde appere there were."

Hardyng, ch. 11, p. 39.

"The giaunts also he sleugh doune beelive
Through all the lande in battaile mannely."

Spenser's statement that Brutus defeated the giants in "great batteils" cannot have its source in Geoffrey's account of the giants' fleeing to the mountain caves. It might possibly spring from Holinshed's statement that Brutus "encountered . . . destroyed and slewe, or rather subdued them." Yet while this suggests actual fighting, it is almost too vague to be the source of Spenser's downright assertion. A more probable source is Hardyng's declaration that Brutus slew the giants "through all the lande in battaile," which is as downright as Spenser's. Hardyng, therefore, seems to have been Spenser's source.

10, ll. 6 ff. That well can witness yet unto this day
The westerne **Hogh**, *besprincled with the gore*
Of mighty Goëmot, whome in stout fray
Corineus conquered, and cruelly did slay.

G. of M., I, 16, p. 18 f. The story of Goemagot is told at length. Corineus hurled the giant from a high rock in the port where they first landed, which was on the coast of Totnesse,⁵ ". . . at ille" (Goemagot) "per abrupta saxa cadens, in multa frustra dilaceratus est: et fluctus sanguine maculavit" (l. 40 f., p. 19).

Hol., Hist., p. 15.

"Among these Giants (as Geffrey of Monmonthe writeth,) there was one of passing strengthe and greate estimation, named Gogmagog, with whome Brute caused Corineus to wrastell, at a place beside Douer, where it chaunced, that the

⁵ See ch. 15.

Giaunt brake a ribbe in the syde of Corineus whyle they stroue to claspe, and the one to ouerthrowe the other: wherewith Corineus being sore chafed and stirred to wrath, he so doubled his force that he got the upper hand of the Gyaunt, and caste him downe headlong from one of the rockes there, not farre from Douer, and so dispatched hym: by reason whereof, the place was named long after, the fall or leape of Gogmagog, but afterwards it was called the fall of Douer."

Camd., Brit., p. 129.

"De fabulosa illa Corinei cum *Gogmagog* Gigante, hoc in loco colluctatione, sat fit, quia credere non libet, unum & alterum ex Architrenio de Gigantibus nostris versiculum adiungere.

Hos auidem belli robur Corineus Auerno

Praecipites misit cubitis ter quatuor altum

Gogmagog Herculea suspendit in aere lucta,

Anthaeumque suum scopulo detrussit in aequor.

Potauitque dato Thetis ebria sanguine fluctus,

Diuisumque tulit mare corpus, Cerberus umbram.

Scopulus vero ille, e quo Gigantem detrusum, ferunt, the **Haw** nunc dicitur . . ."

In Geoffrey the giant's name is Goemagot. In other versions of the story the invariable form is Gogmagog. Spenser's form Goëmot is closer to Geoffrey's form than to Gogmagog. Geoffrey is also the probable source of the detail about the giant's blood, which in Spenser's verse bespatters the cliff, and in Geoffrey's Latin stains the flood. But in locating the fight at the "westernne Hogh," that is, at Plymouth, Spenser is at variance both with Geoffrey, who places it at Totnesse, and with Holinshed, who connects it with Dover. He agrees, however, with Camden, and with local tradition, evidence of which has been preserved in Richard Carew's *Survey of Cornwall*.⁶ Carew described "the portraiture of two men, one bigger, the other lesser . . . (whom they term Gogmagog)," which was cut upon the ground at the Hawe in Plymouth,

⁶ Richard Carew, *The Survey of Cornwall*, with notes by Thomas Tonkin: London, 1811; p. 4. This work, although not printed until 1602, is said to be referred to by Camden in the first edition of the *Britannia*, 1586.

and renewed by the townsmen when necessary, "which should infer the same to be a monument of some moment." The Receiver's Accounts of the borough of Plymouth records expenditure for renewing a Gogmagog figure as early as 1494-5, and at intervals afterward.⁷ By this local tradition, whether it reached Spenser through Carew's *Survey* in manuscript, through Camden, or through some other source,⁸ Geoffrey's story was modified. In other respects Spenser here followed Geoffrey.

11. And eke that ample Pitt, yet far renownd
For the large leape which Debon did compell
Coulin to make, being eight lugs of grownd,
Into the which retourning backe he fell:

Spenser refers to the story of Debon and Coulin a second time in the *Faerie Queene*, III, 9, 50, where he links it, as here, with the story of Goemagot. This connection with such a well-known incident, and the description of the ample "far renownd" pit across which Coulin leaped, both suggest that the story existed before Spenser's time and was not of his invention. As yet, however, no source has been found.

11, ll. 5 ff. But those three monstrous stones doe most excell,
Which that huge sonne of hideous Albion,
Whose father Hercules in Fraunce did quell,
Great Godmer threw, in fierce contention,
At bold Canutus; but of him was slaine anon.

Hol., Hist., pp. 5-6. Albion and Bergion, brothers, fought with Hercules near the river Rhone, in Gallia. The army of Hercules was reduced to using stones as weapons,

⁷ R. N. Worth, *The Myth of Brutus the Trojan*, in the *Trans. of the Devonshire Ass'n*, vol. XII, p. 566.

⁸ Spenser's spelling, "Hogh," makes another source the most probable.

but in the end Hercules conquered and killed both Albion and Bergion.

The same story is also told in the *Descr. of Br.*, p. 1b.

The story of Canutus and Albion's son, Godmer, like the story of Debon and Coulin, is unknown in an earlier form.

The incidental allusion to the fight between Albion and Hercules in France seems to be based on Holinshed's long account, which is also, apparently, the source of Spenser's version of the story in the *Faerie Queene*, IV, 11, 16. There he tells how Albion

“ Out of his Albion did on dry foot pas⁹
 Into old Gall, that now is cleeped France,
 To fight with Hercules . . .

* * * * *

And then his mortall part by great mischance
 Was slaine.”

12. In meed of these great conquests by them gott,
 Corineus had that Province utmost west
 To him *assigned for his worthy lott*,
 Which of his name and memorable gest
 He called Cornwaile, yet so called best;

G. of M., I, 16, ll. 12 ff., p. 18.

“ At Corineus portionem regni, quae *sorti suae cesserat*, ab appellatione sui nominis Corineiam vocat: populumque Corineiensem, exemplum ducis insecutus: . . . maluit regionem illam, quae nunc vel a cornu Britanniae, vel per corruptionem praedicti nominis Cornubia appellatur.”

Hol., Hist., p. 15.

“ For this valiant deede ” (the killing of Gogmagog) “ and other the like service firste and laste atchieved, Brute gaue vnto Corineus the whole countrey of Cornwall.”

⁹ This is another reference to the belief that England was once part of the continent. Cf., p. 38 f., above.

The source of these lines may have been Geoffrey's *Historia*, which may even have influenced Spenser's wording slightly, inasmuch as Spenser's statement that the province of Cornwall was assigned to Corineus "for his worthy lott" seems to echo Geoffrey's statement that the province "*sorti suae cesserat*."

12, ll. 6 ff. And Debons shayre was that is Devonshyre:
But Canute had his portion from the rest,
The which he cald Canutium, for his hyre;
Now Cantium, which Kent we comenly inquiryre.

For these particular facts, as for the story of Canutus in general, no source has been found.¹⁰

13. Thus Brute this Realme unto his rule subdewd,
And raigned long in great felicity,
Lov'd of his freends, and of his foes eschewd:
He left *three sonnes*, his *famous progeny*,
Borne of fayre Inogene of Italy;
Mongst whom he parted his *imperiall state*,
And Locrine left chiefe Lord of Britany.
At last ripe age bad him surrender late
His life, and long good fortune, unto finall fate.

G. of M., II, I, ll. 1 ff., p. 20.

"Cognoverat autem Brutus uxorem suam Ignogen; et ex ea genuit *tres inclytos filios*, quibus erant nomina: Locrinus, Albanactus, et Kamber. Hi, postquam pater vigesimo quarto anno sui adventus ab hoc seculo migravit, sepelierunt eum intra urbem quam condiderat, et diviserunt *regnum Britannie* inter se, et secesserunt unusquisque in locum suum."

Hol., Hist., p. 12. The wife of Brutus was Innogen, daughter of Pandrasus, king of the Greeks.

¹⁰ In Devonshire, near Torquay, there is a place which has been known for centuries as Kent's Hole or Cavern. To explain the name a story is told of a dog that entered the cave in Devonshire and went and went until he came out in Kent (See *Trans. of Dev.*

p. 16. Brutus ruled fifteen years and had three sons, among whom he divided his kingdom (See p. 54, below).

Although the form of the name Inogene is closer to Holinshed's Innogen than to Geoffrey's Ignogen, Spenser's story seems in the main based on Geoffrey's account, and shows a slight verbal similarity to it. In one detail, however, there is a difference. According to Spenser Inogene came from Italy, not Greece. For this statement he apparently had no authority. Either his memory failed him — a possibility, inasmuch as Geoffrey does not mention Ignogen's native country in the passage which Spenser seems to be paraphrasing — or he deliberately substituted Italy for Greece for the sake of alliteration and rhyme.¹¹

14. **Lochrine was left the souveraine Lord of all:**
 But Albanact had ALL THE NORTHERNE PART,
Which of himselfe Albania he did call;
 And Camber did possesse the Westerne quart,
 WHICH SEVERNE NOW FROM **Logris** DOTH DEPART:
 And each his portion *peaceably* enjoyd,
 Ne was there outward breach, nor grudge in hart,
 That once their quiet government annoyd;
 But each his paynes to others profit still employd.

G. of M., II, I, ll. 6 ff., p. 20.

"Locrinus, qui primogenitus erat, possedit mediam partem insulae, quae postea de nomine ejus appellata est Loëgria. Kamber autem partem illam quae est ultra Sabrinum flumen, quae nunc Gualia vocatur, quae de nomine ipsius postmodum Kambria multo tempore dicta fuit: . . . At Albanactus junior possedit patriam, quae lingua nostra his temporibus

Ass'n., vol. V, p. 183, and vol. X, p. 160). This story, however, is manifestly of no great antiquity. Perhaps the name of Kent's Cavern has its origin in some forgotten Devonshire tradition of Canutus.

¹¹ The omission of any reference to Greece in Spenser's account of the journey of Brutus from Italy to Britain (*F. Q.*, III, 9, 48) should be noted. See p. 169 f., below.

appellatur Scotia: *et nomen ei ex nomine suo Albaniam dedit.*
 Illis deinde *concordi pace* diu regnantibus, applicuit Humber
 rex Hunnorum in Albaniam."

Hol., Hist., p. 16.

"In this meane whyle also he had by his wyfe .III. sonnes,
 of which the firste was named Locrinus, or Locrine, the second
 Cambris or Camber, and the third Albanactus or Albanact.
 And when the tyme of his death drew neere, To the first
 he betoke the gouernment of that part of the lande which
 is nowe knowne by the name of England: so that the same
 was long after called *Loegria* or *Logiers*, of the sayd Locrinus.

"To the seconde he appoynted the countrey of Wales, the
 whyche of hym was first named *Cambria*, DECIDED FROM
 LOEGRIA, BY THE RIUER OF SEUERNE.

"To his thirde sonne Albanacte, hee delyuered ALL THE
 NORTH PARTE of the Isle, afterwarde called *Albania*, after
 the name of the said Albanacte: which portion of the sayd
 Isle lieth beyond the Humber northward . . .

"*Locrinus*, or *Locrine*, the first begotten sonne of Brute
 began to reigne ouer y^e countrey called *Logiers* . . ."

Hardyng, ch. 15, pp. 42-43. The supreme power of
 Locrine is stated clearly and at length. It is again referred
 to in the first stanza of chapter 16. Brutus is described as
 parting his dominion during his life.

"Fro Humbar North vnto the Northwest sea
 Of all Britayne, which he called Albanye
 For Albanacte the kyng thereof to be."

Ch. 17, p. 44.

"This eldest sone was king y^t hight Locrine,
Of all Britayne hauing y^e souerante,
 Hauing **Logres** as Brute dyd determine,
 To whome Cambre, and Albanacte the free,
 Obeying both vnto his royalte,
 There homage made as to **y^e lorde souerayne,**
 And emperoure of that lande of Britayne.

* * * * *

"And reigned so (by lyfe in)¹² one assente,
 Eche (one) other to helpe and fortifye

¹² in loue by

(And thus in peace holding their regalite) ¹³
 But as they satte (so) beste in **peace** and rest
 Kyng Humbar arose in Albyne full preste."

Caxton, ch. 5.

"And when brute had sought al the land in lengthe and in brede / he fonde a lande that joyned to brytayne in the north and that londe Brute yaf to Albanac his sone & lete calle it Albania after his name / that now is callyd Scotland / And Brute fond an other countre toward the Weste / and that yaf to Cambyr hys other sone / and he lete calle it Camber after his name / and now it is called Wales / And whan brute had regned XX. yere as byfore is sayd, he dyed in the cyte of newe troye / and there his sone him entered with moche honour / and lotryn brutes sone was crouned kyng with moche solempnyte of al the land of Brytayne / & after whan he was crowned albanac and camber his two bretheren wente ageyne in to her owne countrey & lyved with mykell honour / And lotryn her broder regned and was kyng and gouerned the lande wel & wysely for he was a good man and wonder wel byloued of all his lond / And it befell so that Albanak duellyd in his owne lande with moche honoure and worship / & thenne cam kyng humbar of hunland with a grete power & arriued in albanye /"

In this portion of the story the later chroniclers, such as Caxton, Hardyng, and Holinshed, differ from Geoffrey in two particulars. They state (1) that Brutus divided his kingdom during his lifetime, and (2) either that Brutus named Albania or that it was so named by posterity. According to Geoffrey, the sons themselves divided the kingdom after the death of their father, and Albanact gave his own name to the province that fell to his share. In both these particulars Spenser agrees with Geoffrey. Nevertheless the later chroniclers evidently had some influence. Spenser's "all the Northerne part" echoes Holinshed's "all the North parte," and his description of Cambria as divided from Logris by the Severne is like Holinshed's "Cambria, deuided from Loegria by the riuer of Seuerne." At the

¹³ As bretherne shuld of their fraternytye.

same time Spenser's first line seems to have its source in Hardyng, who, like Caxton, and unlike Geoffrey and Holinshed, throws Locrine's overlordship into prominence. Spenser's "soveraine Lord of all" is practically the same as Hardyng's "Of all Britayne hauing y^e souerante," and his "lorde souerayne" a few lines below. From Hardyng, too, Spenser apparently took the form Logris, instead of Geoffrey's Loegria or Holinshed's Logiers. The natural conclusion from these facts is that Spenser followed Geoffrey in the main outline of his story, but also was influenced, especially in phrasing, by both Holinshed and Hardyng. The fusing of the three authorities is of such a nature as to suggest that Spenser may have had all three books, or notes from all three, before him at once.

15. Untill a nation straunge, with visage swart,
 And corage fierce that all men did affray,
 Which through the world then swarmd in every part.
 And overflowd all countries far away,
 Like Noyes great flood, with their importune sway,
 This land invaded with like violence,
 And did themselves through all the North display:
 Untill that Locrine for his Realmes defence,
 Did head against them make and strong munificence.

16. He them encountred, a confused rout,
 Foreby the River that whylome was hight
 The ancient **Abus**, where with courage stout
 He them defeated in victorious fight,
 And CHASTE SO FIERCELY after fearefull flight,
 That **forst their chiefetain**, for his safeties sake,
 (Their Chiefetain Humber named was aright,)
 Unto the mighty streame him to betake,
 Where he an end of batteill and of life did make.

G. of M., II, 1-2, p. 20. Humber, king of the Huns, invaded Albania and killed Albanactus. Locrinus and

Kamber united and defeated Humber near the river now called Humber. "Inito ergo congressu compulit Humbrum in fugam, qui usque ad fluvium diffugiens, est submersus in eo, et nomen suum flumini reliquit" (*ch. 2, ll. 3 ff.*).

Hol., Hist., pp. 16-17. Humber, "a King of the Hunnes or Scythians," killed Albanact and possessed Albania, "til Locrinus with his brother Camber, in reuenge of their other brothers death, and for the recouery of the kingdome, gathered their powers together, and comming against the said king of the Hunes, by the valiancie of their people they discomfited hym in battell, and CHASED HIM SO EGRELY, that he himselfe and a greate number of his men were drowned in the Gulfe that then parted Loegria and Albania, which after tooke name of y^e sayd king, & was called Humber, and so continueth vnto this day."

Descr. of Br., p. 31.

"There is no ryuer called Humber from the heade, wherefore that which we now call Humber¹⁴ hath the same denomination no hygher then the confluence of Trent with the Ouze, as beside Leland, sundry auntyent writers haue noted before us both. . . . yet are we contented to cal it Humber, of *Humbrus* a king of y^e Scithiens, who inuaded this Ile in y^e time of *Locrinus*."

Two lines of Latin verse are quoted later:—

"Dum fugit obstat ei flumen submergitur illic,
Deque suo tribuit nomine nomen aquae."

Mir. for Mag., King Locrinus, st. 10, vol. I, p. 55.

"When hee (Locrine) was deade they hop'd to winne the
rest

And ouer **Aby streame** with hast did hye.

* * * * *

Wee brake theyr rayes and **forst the king** to fly
Into the arme of sea they ouercame,
Where Humber drownde the waters tooke their name."

¹⁴ The edition of 1587 (vol. I, *Descr. of Br.*, p. 92) adds here, "Ptolomie Abie, Leland Aber, as he gesseth."

Spenser, in this stanza, has dwelt on the story of Humber¹⁵ without either following Geoffrey very closely or differing from him in any essential detail. His "chaste so fiercely" recalls Holinshed's "chased him so egerlie." His Abus is like the "Aby streame" in the *Mirror for Magistrates*, and his "forst their chiefetain" may be more than a casual resemblance to the "forst the king" in the same poem. But as these points of resemblance are slight, the influence of Holinshed and the *Mirror for Magistrates* is a conjecture resting on trivial evidence only. In the name Abus, however, we have certainly from some source an addition to Geoffrey's story.¹⁶

17. The king retourned proud of victory,
 And insolent wox through unwonted ease,
 That shortly he forgot the jeopardy,
 Which in his land he lately did appease,
 And fell to vaine voluptuous disease:
 He lov'd faire Ladie Estrild, leudly lov'd;
 Whose wanton pleasures him too much did please,
 That quite his hart from Guendolene remov'd;
 From Guendolene his wife, though alwaies faithful prov'd.

18. The noble daughter of Corinëus
 Would not endure to bee so vile **disdained**,
 But, gathering force and corage valorous,

¹⁵ Humber is again mentioned in the *Faerie Queene*, Bk. IV, c. 11, stanzas 37-38. He is there said to have been a Scythian, and to have drowned six brothers, all valiant knights, who became six rivers, the names of which are given. Locrinus, son of Brutus, avenged them and drowned Humber in the same stream in which Humber had drowned the brothers. From Humber the stream took its name. It still keeps something of his character, for it is troubled with storms. Significant here is the fact that Humber is called a Scythian, and not, as in Geoffrey, a Hun. This shows the influence either of Holinshed's *History*, where Humber is called "a King of the Hunnes or Scythians," or of the *Description*, where Humber is said to have been "a king of ye Scithiens."

¹⁶ The addition of the forms of the name, Abie and Aber, in the 1587 edition of the *Descr. of Br.* should be noted. See note, p. 57, above.

Encountred him in batteill well ordaind,
 In which him vanquisht she to fly constraind:
 But she so fast pursewd, that him she tooke
 And threw in bands, where he till death remaind;
 Als his faire Leman flying through a brooke
 She overhent, nought moved with her piteous looke;

19. But both her selfe, and eke her daughter deare,
 Begotten by her kingly Paramoure,
 The faire Sabrina, almost dead with feare,
 She there attached, far from all succoure;
 The one she slew upon the present floure;
 But the sad virgin, innocent of all,
 Adowne the rolling river she did poure,
Which of her name now Severne men do call;
SUCH WAS THE END THAT TO DISLOYALL LOVE DID FALL.

G. of M., II, 2-5, pp. 20 ff. Locrinus was in love with Estrildis, who was captured at the battle of the Humber. Forced to fulfill his former engagement and marry Guendoloena, daughter of Corineus, he continued secretly his relations with Estrildis. Finally, after the death of Corineus, he divorced Guendoloena and made Estrildis queen. But Guendoloena gathered an army and fought a battle with him near the Sturius. In this battle Locrinus was killed by an arrow. Estrildis and her daughter Sabre were thrown into the river "unde contigit quod usque in hunc diem appellatum est flumen Britannica lingua Sabren, quod per corruptionem nominis alia lingua Sabrina vocatur" (*p. 22, ch. 5, ll. 13 ff.*).

Hol., Hist., p. 17. Holinshed tells the story more briefly than Geoffrey does, gives the name of Locrine's wife as "Guendoloena or Guendoleyn," and omits all mention of the death of Estrild and Sabrina.

Desc. of Br., pp. 25 b and 26. Guendolena drowned Estrildes, whose name is also given as Estruldis, and her daughter Habren in the river Severn.

"AND IN PERPETUAL REMEMBRANCE OF HIR HUSBANDES DISLOYALTIE TOWARDES HIR, she caused the streame to be called Habren of the young Ladye, for which the Romaines in processe of tyme for readinesse, & mildenesse of pronuncia-tion, wrate Sabrina, and we at this time do pronounce the Sauerne. . . . Of the drowning of the sayde Abren also I finde these verses insuing.

In fluuium praecipitatur Abren,
Nomen Abren, fluuiò de virgine, nomen eidem
Nomine corrupto deinde Sabrina datur."

Mir. for Mag., King Locrinus, st. 22, vol. I., p. 58.

"But *Guendoline*, that saw her selfe **disdaynd**,
Strayght fled, and mou'de the Cornish men to fight."

Stow, p. 9. "She drowned the Lady *Estrilde*, with her daughter *Sabrine* in a riuer, **that after the yong maidens name is called Seuerne.**"

The liveliness of style that characterizes Spenser's treatment of the story of Humber is continued in the story of Estrild and Sabrina. Moreover, there appears the same freedom in the use of authorities.¹⁷ The story agrees in most respects with Geoffrey's, and yet shows in phrasing slight traces of later versions. *Guendoline* cannot endure to be "disdained" in the *Mirror for Magistrates* or in Spenser. The "disloyalty" of Locrinus, according to Holinshed's *Description*, is to be perpetuated by the naming of the river Severne, and in Spenser, the statement that the river was named from Sabrina is followed by the reflection, "Such was the end that to *disloyal* love did fall." At the same time, in this very passage, Spenser varies from the *Description*. Instead of having the river named by the injured *Guendoline*, he says that men *now* call the river Severne, which echoes Geoffrey's "*in hunc diem appellatum est flumen . . . Sabren.*" Yet here Spenser also comes close to *Stow's*

¹⁷ Both stories are connected with British rivers, and therefore probably had been in Spenser's mind since 1580.

wording, "a riuer, that after the yong maidens name is called Seuerne," and agrees with him in not troubling about the method of deriving Severne from Sabrina, a point which Geoffrey, Holinshed, and others found vexatious. Two points in Spenser's story, however, are independent of all known authority. First Spenser describes the capture and imprisonment of Locrinus, who both in Geoffrey and in the later chroniclers is invariably killed by an arrow in battle. Secondly, he says that Guendoline was killed at the moment of capture, and Sabrina alone drowned in the river. We have in the story of Locrinus, then, an interesting situation. Spenser has repeated a story which he could have found in Geoffrey and in other authorities — although Holinshed's *History* is not among them — and shows traces of possible influence from the *Mirror for Magistrates*, Holinshed's *Description*, and Stow's *Chronicle*, but at the same time in two important points varies from previous authorities and gives what is apparently an independent version.

20. **Then for her sonne**, which she to Locrin bore,
Madan was young, unmeet the rule to sway,
 In her owne hand the crowne she kept in store,
 Till ryper years he raught and stronger stay;
 During which time her powre she did display
 Through all this Realme, the glory of her sex,
 And first taught men a woman to obay:
 But, when her sonne to mans estate did wex,
 She it surrendred, ne her selfe would lenger vex.

21. Tho Madan raignd, unworthie of his race,
 For with all shame that sacred throne he fild.

G. of M., II, 6, ll. 1 ff., p. 22.

"Regnavit autem Guendoloena quindecim annis post interfectionem Locrini: qui decem annis regnaverat. Et cum

vidisset Maddan filium suum aetate adultum, sceptro regni eum insignivit: contenta regione Cornubiae, dum reliquum vitae deduceret. . . . Regnumque cum pace et diligentia quadraginta annis tractavit."

Hol., Hist., p. 17.

"Guendoloena or Guendoleyn¹⁸ . . . FOR SO MUCHE AS HIR SONNE MADAN WAS NOT OF YEERES SUFFICIENT TO GOUERNE," ruled during her son's minority and then made him king. "Ther is little lefte in writing of his doings, sauing that he vsed greate tyranny amongst his Britons: and therefore after he had ruled this land the tearme of 40 yeres, he was deuoured of wilde beastes, as he was abroad in hunting."

Robert Manning of Brunne, ll. 2125-6.

"Madan regned fourty ȝer
& left his sones þat lond in wer."

Hardyng, ch. 20, p. 47. Hardyng gives a favorable account of "Maddan."

Caxton, ch. 7.

"& he (Madan) regned & gouerned the land wel and honourably."

Fabyan, p. 12.

"Of this is lytell or no memory made by any wryters, except y^t some wryte of hym y^t he vsed great Tyranny amonge his Brytons."

Mir. for Mag., I, pp. 86 ff. Madan is represented as evil.

Stow, p. 9.

"Guendoline the daughter of Corineus, and wife to Locrine, (for so much as Madan her sonne was too young to gouerne the Land) was by common assent of all the Brytaines, made ruler of the whole Ile of Brytaine."

Madan "vsed great tyranny among the Brytans."

The story of Guendoline and her son Madan breaks into two parts, her regency and his reign. The first part, which

¹⁸ This name also appears as Guindoline.

is treated in full by Spenser, may show the influence of Holinshed and Stow in the statement that Madan was too young to rule, although this might be inferred easily enough from Geoffrey's statement that Guendoline surrendered the scepter when her son reached manhood. The second part of Spenser's story, however, very clearly follows late authorities. Although Geoffrey, Caxton, and Hardyng agree that Madan was a good ruler, Fabyan, Holinshed, and Stow, on the other hand, say that Madan "vsed great Tyranny among his Brytons,"¹⁹ and the *Mirror for Magistrates* likewise represents Madan as an evil ruler. So, too, does Spenser. In this case, therefore, Spenser has varied from Geoffrey to follow later versions of the story.

21, ll. 3-5. Next Memprise, as unworthy of that place;
In which being consorted with Manild,
For thirst of single kingdom him he kild.

G. of M., II, 6, p. 22. Mempricius and Malim,²⁰ sons of Maddan, quarreled for the rule, "*quia uterque totam insulam possidere aestuabat*" (l. 10 f.). Mempricius treacherously killed Malim. He then ruled with great tyranny twenty years. While hunting he was devoured by wolves.

Hol., Hist., p. 17. Mempricius was the eldest son of Madan. His brother Manlius rebelled against him and was by him treacherously slain. Mempricius led an evil life, and after twenty years was slain by wild beasts while he was hunting.

Robert Manning of Brunne, ll. 2127-8.

"pyse brethere were eucere wrothe
ffor þe lond þey striuen boþe."

¹⁹ The fact that the phrasing is identical in the three chronicles shows a common origin for this statement. How such a contradiction of the original story came into existence is difficult to understand. A hint of a movement hostile to Madan appears as early as Robert Manning of Brunne, who said that Madan left the land in war, but this statement can scarcely be the source of the later story. Madan may possibly have been confused with his successor, the wicked Mempricius.

²⁰ In the editions of 1508 and 1517 this name appears as Manlio.

Caxton, ch. 7.

"And Menprys for encheson that he was the eldest sone wolde haue had al that lond / & maulyne wold not suffre hym."

Stow's Summarie, Grafton's Abridgment, and Cooper's Epitome all give the name Manlius.

The transition from Madan to Memprise emphasizes the evil rule of Madan,²¹ and so brings into this portion of the story also the influence of the later chroniclers. But the reason why Memprise killed Manild—"for thirst of single kingdom"—is more clearly and forcibly given in Geoffrey's "quia uterque totam insulam possidere aestuabat" than elsewhere. We have in these three lines, therefore, evidence of the use of both Geoffrey and some one of the later chroniclers, possibly Holinshed.

21, ll. 6 ff. But Ebranck salved both their infamies
With noble deedes, and warreyd on Brunchild
In Henault, where yet of his victories
Brave monuments remaine, which yet that land envies.

22. An happy man in his first dayes he was,
And happy father of fair progeny:
For all so many weekes as the yere has,
So many children he did multiply;
Of which were twentie sonnes, which did apply
Their mindes to prayse and cheualrous desyre:
Those germans did subdew all Germany,
Of whom it hight; but in the end their Syre
With foule repulse from Fraunce was forced to retyre.

G. of M., II, 7-8, p. 23. Ebraucus,²² son of Mempricius, ruled forty years. He was the first after Brutus to invade Gaul. He returned victorious. He had twenty sons and thirty daughters. His sons conquered Germany.

²¹ See also st. 21, below, "But Ebranck salved *both their infamies.*"

²² In the editions of 1508 and 1517, Ebraucus.

Hol., Hist., pp. 17-18. Ebrancke, son of Mempricius, had twenty sons and thirty daughters. He "was the first Prince of his lande that euer inuaded Fraunce after Brute, and is commended as author and originall builder of many Cities, both in his owne kingdome and else where." His sons conquered Germany. Holinshed does not say that the country was named after them, but he describes the marriages of the children and names the towns that were built at this time.

"After which cities thus builded, he [Ebrancke] sayled ouer into Gallia, now called France with a great army, and subduing the Guilles as is aforesayde, he returned home with great riches and triumph." This was evidently the first expedition into Gaul. There is here no mention of a second invasion, or of Brunchild and Henalt, but later, in the account of Brute Greeneshielde, these are given, with a reference in the margin to "Jacobus Les. . . ." "Thys Prince [Brute Greeneshielde] bare alwayes in the field a greene shielde, whereof he toke hys surname, and of him some forraine authors affirme, y^t he made an attempte to bring the whole Realme of Fraunce under his subiection, which he performed, bycause his father susteined some dishonor and losse in his last voyage into that countrey. Howbeit they say, y^t when he came into Henaud, Brinchild a Prince of y^t quarter gaue him also a greate ouerthrowe, and compelled him to retire home agayne into hys countrey. This I borrow out of William Harrison, who in his chronologie toucheth the same at large, concluding in the end, that the said passage of this prince into France is verie likely to be true"

Caxton, ch. 7.

"Ebranc thurgh his myghte & help of his bretons conquerd al Fraunce This kyng had XX sones / XXXIII doughters"

Fabyan, p. 13. Ebranck "subduyed the Gallis, and retourned with great triumphe and rychesse."

Stow, p. 9.

"This Ebranck first after Brutus attempted to inuade France with an Army, as Jacobus Bergomas sayeth in his

sixth of his Chronicles, and *Jacobus Lessabeus* in the description of *Henalt* affirmeth the same, and that he was driuen backe by *Brunchildis*, Lord of Henalt, with no small losse of his men. *Assaracus*, the second Sonne of *Ebrancke*, with the rest of his young brethren 18 at the least by the ayde of *Alba Siluius*, conquered all Germany, which was then no great matter. . . . Of these brethren had Germany the name, a *germanis fratribus*, that had subdued it."

In his account of Ebranck Spenser has introduced so many variations based on the later chroniclers as to lead to the supposition that Geoffrey was entirely superseded at this point. Spenser has added to Geoffrey's story three important particulars — the derivation of the name Germany, the name of Brunchild of Henalt, and the final defeat of Ebranck in Gaul — and while retaining the number of the sons as in Geoffrey, he has changed the total number of the children from fifty to fifty-two. The three additions to Geoffrey's story seem all to be based on Stow.²³ But Spenser's account of the twenty sons who subdued Germany is independent of Stow's confusing statement that "*Assaracus*, the second son of Ebrancke, with the rest of his young brethren 18 at the least by the ayde of *Alba Siluius*, conquered all Germany." Spenser had evidently in mind the usual statement that there were twenty brothers. In his count of all the children, however, he may have been influenced by Caxton, who changed the familiar fifty to fifty-three, although it is quite possible that in saying that Ebranck had as many children as there were weeks in the year, Spenser sought merely to substitute a poetical expression for the round number. Nevertheless, even in this case, the variation in Caxton would have had its effect in

²³ Holinshed does not mention the naming of Germany, or the defeat of Ebranck, and his reference to Brunchild does not occur in his account of this reign. Holinshed, therefore, cannot be Spenser's source. But the manuscript *Chronologie* by William Harison, to which Holinshed refers, or Stow's source, *Jacobus Lessabeus*, might conceivably have furnished Spenser with the material he used. Yet even if this were the case, the coincidence in the selection of details would indicate that Stow's account was not without influence.

justifying the liberty he was taking. Spenser's account of Ebranck, then, seems to show in a minor degree the influence of Caxton, and in the main the influence of Stow.

23. Which blott his sonne succeeding in his seat,
The second Brute, the second both in name
And eke in semblaunce of his puissaunce great,
Right well recur'd, and did away that blame
With recompence of everlasting fame:
He with his victour sword first opened
The bowels of wide Fraunce, a forlorne Dame,
And taught her first how to be conquered;
Since which, with sondrie spoiles she hath been ransacked.

24. Let Scaldis tell, and let tell Hania,
And let the marsh of Esthambruges tell,
What colour were their waters that same day,
And all the moore twixt Elversham and Dell,
With blood of Henalois which therein fell.
How oft that day did sad Brunchildis see
The greene shield dyde in dolorous vermell?
That not *Scuith guiridh* it mote seeme to bee,
But rather *y scuith gogh*, signe of sad crueltee.

G. of M., II, 9, ll. 1 ff., p. 24.

"Brutus autem cognomento Viridescutum cum patre remansit, regnique gubernaculo potitus post patrem duodecim annis regnavit."

Hol., Hist., p. 18. Brutus Greeneshield ruled twelve years and conquered France (see p. 80, above).

Stow, p. 9.

"*Brutus* ⁊ the eldest Sonne of *Ebranke*, succeeded in the Kingdome, and for that his father had receiued such a repulse at the hands of *Brunchildis*, Lord of Henalt, hee in reuenge thereof, inuaded Henalt with a great army in the Fennes and Marshland, at the mouth of the Riuer Scaldis (of old time

entirely from the brief and dry account in Geoffrey, and followed Stow, or Stow's original, with perhaps some reference to Holinshed, and certainly with some knowledge of another authority as yet undiscovered.

25. His sonne, king Leill, by fathers labour long,
Enjoyd an heritage of lasting peace,
And built Cairleill, and built Cairleon strong.

G. of M., II, 9, ll. 3 ff., p. 24. " . . . huic successit Leir ejus filius pacis atque aequitatis amator." Leir had a prosperous reign of twenty-five years. He built Kaerleir. Toward the end of his reign he grew remiss in his government and so occasioned a civil dissension.

Hol., Hist., p. 18. Leil built Caerleil and repaired Caerleon.

"But now to y^e purpose concerning K. Leil. We find it recorded y^t he was in y^e beginning of his raigne very vpright, & desirous to see iustice executed, & aboute all things loued peace & quietnesse, but as yeres encreased with him, so his vertues began to diminish, in so much, that abandoning y^e care for the body of y^e common welth, he suffered his own body to welter in all vice and voluptuousnesse, & so procuring the hatred of hys subiectes, caused malice and discorde to ryse amongst them, which during his life, he was neuer able to appease. But leauing them so at variance, departed this life, and was buried at Careleil . . ."

Stow, p. 9.

"*Leill* the sonne of *Brute Greeneshield*, being a louer of peace, builded Carleile, and repaired Carleon . . . King *Leill* in the end of his raigne, fell to sloth, and lust of the body, by meanes whereof, ciuill strife was raised, and not in his daies ended. He raigned 25 yeers, and was buried at Carleile *alias* Chester."

Caxton, ch. 9. Leill "made a fair toune / & lete calle it Carlylle. . . . And whan he had regned XXII yere he dyed / & lyeth at Caerlyll."

Spenser's account of King Leill, brief as it is, differs from Geoffrey's in three respects — i. e. in the name Leill, in the reference to Cairleon, and in the statement that the reign was peaceful. Spenser is following the later chroniclers with regard to the name, and also apparently in his reference to Cairleon, although he varies the story by saying that Leill built the city, while the chroniclers state only that he repaired it. The chroniclers do not, however, give any authority for the statement that the reign was peaceful. As mere conjecture one may hazard two suppositions, which separately or conjointly might account for Spenser's reference to the "heritage of lasting peace." Spenser apparently was following Stow in his narrative of the two previous reigns. If he continued to read in Stow he would have found in the first sentence of the paragraph about Leill the main facts. Then he would have been confronted with twenty-nine lines given over to an account of the Roman legion, and filled with figures. If he followed the reader's natural impulse to omit the digression, his eye might easily have caught only the last sentence, which is about Leill's burial, or the first sentence of the new paragraph, which deals with Rudhudibras, and he would thus have missed Stow's brief reference to civil strife. Or Spenser may have been influenced by the fact that Caxton makes no mention of the trouble that came at the end of Leill's reign.²⁶ Consequently, all three variations from Geoffrey's story, and, indeed, Spenser's whole account of the reign of Leill, except for the building instead of the repairing of Cairleon, can be explained on the supposition that Spenser used Caxton and Stow.

²⁶ Caxton, although a possible source for the "lasting peace," could not have been Spenser's only source, because Caxton, like Geoffrey, makes no mention of Cairleon.

25, *ll.* 4-5. Next Huddibras his realme did not encrease,
But taught the land from wearie wars to cease:

G. of M., II, 9, p. 24. Hudibras²⁷ pacified the kingdom and built three cities, Kaerlem, Kaerguen, and the town now called Sefovia.

Hol., Hist., pp. 18-19. Lud, or Ludhurdibras, pacified the kingdom and built Canterbury, Winthester, and Shaftesbury.

As Leill "Enjoyd an heritage of lasting peace" which resulted from his "fathers labour long," it is difficult to see why Hudibras found it necessary to teach the land "from wearie wars to cease." At first it seems as if here Spenser, careless of the discrepancy, had reverted to the story told by Geoffrey and repeated in the later chronicles, according to which the civil strife of Leill's reign was pacified by Leill's successor. But Spenser's first line makes this doubtful, for the statement that Hudibras did not increase his realm suggests that the wars which he did not wage were foreign, not civil, wars. Spenser's lines would then grow out of the account of the second Brutus, and would perhaps be an attempt to explain the facts in Geoffrey's account of Hudibras so as to make them harmonize with the account of Leill to which Spenser had previously committed himself. However this may be, Geoffrey was certainly influential in this passage, for the name Hudibras is not found in the later chronicles, which have Rudhudibras, Ludibras, Lud, and other variations of the name.²⁸ Geoffrey may therefore be considered the source of this passage.

25, *ll.* 6 ff. Whose footsteps Bladud following, in artes
Exceld at Athens all the learned peace,

²⁷ In the editions of 1508 and 1517, Hurdibras.

²⁸ Fletcher, *Arthurian Material*, p. 86, says that all the manuscripts of Geoffrey which he has seen give Rudhudibras, which he thinks was probably Geoffrey's real form. This would account for the forms in the later chronicles.

From whence he brought them to these salvage parts,
And with sweet science mollifide their stubborne harts.

26. Ensample of his wondrous faculty,
Behold the boyling bathes at Cairbadon,
Which seeth with secret fire eternally,
And in their entrailles, full of quick Brimston,
Nourish the flames which they are warmd upon,
That to their people wealth they forth do well,
And health to every forreyne nation:
Yet he at last, contending to excell
The reach of men, through flight into fond mischief fell.

G. of M., II, 10, p. 24. Bladud ruled twenty years. He built Kaerbadus, now Bath, and made the hot baths, which he dedicated to Minerva: “. . . in cujus aede inextinguibiles posuit ignes, qui nunquam deficiebant in favillas, sed ex quo tabescere incipiebant in saxeos globos vertebantur” (*ll.* 4-6). Bladud taught and practised magic. In an attempt to fly he fell upon one of Apollo's temples and was killed.

Hol., Hist., p. 19. Bladud, or Baldud, who ruled twenty years, was learned in magic, by which he made the hot baths at Caerbran (Bath). “But William of Malmesbery is of a contrary opinion, affirming that Julius Cesar made those bathes or rather repayred them when he was here in Englande: which is not like to be true.” Bladud, “to shew his cunning in other poynts, vppon a presumptuous pleasure which he had therein,” attempted to fly, and fell upon the temple of Apollo and was killed. Holinshed uses in the text the name Baldud, but in the margin, Bladud.

Descr. of Br., pp. 88a and 88b. The virtue of the baths at Bath is due to sulphur. If anything is mingled with it, it is saltpetre. “But howsoever ye matter standeth this is to be gathered by our hystories, that Bladud first buylded that citie there, and peradventure might also kindle the

Sulphurous vaines of purpose to burne continuallye, in the honour of *Minerva*."

Laxamon, ed. Madden, Notes, vol. III, p. 318. In a metrical fragment written in a hand of the fourteenth century, and found in the Cotton copy of "Robert of Gloucester," is a description of the baths at Bath. The first ingredient mentioned is "quick brimston."²⁹

Hardyng, ch. 25, p. 52.

"When at Athenes he had studied clere,
He brought with hym IIII philosophers wise,
Schole to holde in Brytayne and exercyse

* * * * *

He flyed on high to the temple Apolyne,
(And ther brake) his necke for al his great doctrine."

Fabyan, p. 14. Caerbadon.

Grafton, p. 34 f. Bladud studied at Athens. Grafton quotes Bale.

Mir. for Mag., King Bladud, st. 3, vol. I, pp. 112 ff.

"In Britayne though I learned had full well
The artes, and could amongst the wise conferre,
Yet when of *Athens* I the fame heard tell
(Though it in Greece so far hence distant were)
I trauaylid thither, writers witnesse are
I studied there, and thence of learned men I brought
That learning might from *Britayne* land no more so far bee
sought."

Caxton, Descr. of Eng., ch. 19. Bath is called Caerbadun. Caxton denies that either Julius Caesar or Bladud made the baths, "but it accordeth better to kindly reson that the water renneth in the erth by veynes of brymston and sulphur and so is kindly made hoote in that cours . . ."

Stowe, p. 10. "Bladud, the Sonne of Rudhudibras, who had long studied at *Athens*, brought with him foure Phi-

²⁹ See note, p. 25, above.

losophers to keep schoole in Britain." Stow mentions the hot baths without describing them. He says that Bladud "presumed to fly."

Camd., Brit., p. 165. ". . . sulphure enim & bitumine aqua percolatur . . ." In the edition of 1637 (*p.* 233), this is translated "the water is . . . strained through veins of Brimstone, and a clammy kind of earth called Bitumen."

The description of Bath, in which Spenser showed much interest, is composed of elements that are common to a number of the chroniclers. The virtues of the baths were usually, though not by Geoffrey, ascribed to sulphur, for which brimstone is merely another name.³⁰ Spenser's exact words, "quick Brimston," occur in the metrical fragment in the Cotton copy of "Robert of Gloucester," and as this fragment seems to have been used in the *Mirror for Magistrates*,³¹ the coincidence is especially curious. Some version of the material in the fragment may have been in circulation at the end of the sixteenth century, or Spenser may have seen the fragment itself. But even if so, he was also influenced by accounts more nearly contemporary, as is indicated by his reference to the wealth and health that are derived from the baths. And his form of the old name, Cairbadon, which differs slightly from Geoffrey's, a little less from Caxton's, and much from Holinshed's, agrees with Grafton's. Apart from the details in the description of Bath, Spenser has added to Geoffrey's narrative the story of Bladud's journey to Athens, whence he brought the "artes" to Britain.³² For this journey Spenser had ample authority in Hardyng, Grafton, and Stow,

³⁰ Caxton, to be sure, speaks of "brymston and sulphur" as if they were two different substances, but cf. translation of Camden's *Britannia*, above.

³¹ Cf. *p.* 25, above.

³² The usual story is that Bladud brought back four philosophers to teach school. According to some accounts he founded the university of Stamford. See Grafton, *p.* 35, Hardyng, *p.* 52, *Mirror for Magistrates*, *Bladud*, st. 6, vol. I, *p.* 116, Stow, *p.* 10.

and a poetical example in the *Mirror for Magistrates*. The use of the word "artes" to describe Bladud's studies suggests that this last had special influence. Spenser's account of Bladud, we may conclude, shows the influence, not of Holinshed, but of other writers later than Geoffrey. Basing the assertion on what is admittedly slight evidence, we may name among the works from which Spenser may have drawn material (1) the fragment in the Cotton copy of "Robert of Gloucester," (2) Grafton, and (3) the *Mirror for Magistrates*.

27. Next him king Leyr in happie peace long raynd,
 But *had no issue male* him to succeed,
But three faire daughters, which were well uptraind
 In all that seemed fitt for kingly seed:
 Mongst whom his realme he equally decreed
 To have divided. Tho, when feeble age
 Nigh to his utmost date he saw proceed,
 He cald his daughters, and with speeches sage
 Inquyrd, which of them most did love her parentage?

28. The eldest, Gonorill, gan to protest
 That she much **MORE THAN HER OWNE LIFE** him lov'd;
 And Regan greater love to him profest
Then all the world, when ever it were proov'd;
 But Cordeill said **she lov'd him as behoov'd**:
 Whose simple answer, wanting colours fayre
 To paint it forth, him to displeasaunce moov'd,
 That in his crown he counted her no hayre,
 But twixt the other twain his kingdom whole did shayre.

29. So wedded th'one to Maglan king of Scottes,
 And thother to the king of Cambria,
 And twixt them shayrd his realme by equall lottes;
 But without dowre the wise Cordelia
 Was sent to Aggannip of Celtica.
 Their aged Syre, thus eased of his crowne,

A private life ledd in Albania
 With Gonorill, long had in great renowne,
 That nought him griev'd to beene from rule deposed downe.

30. But true it is that, when the oyle is spent,
 The light goes out, and weeke is throwne away:
 So, when he had resign'd his regiment,
 His daughter gan despise his drouping day,
 And wearie wax of his continuall stay.
 Tho to his daughter Regan he repayrd,
 Who him at first well used every way;
 But when of his departure she despayrd,
 Her bountie she abated, and his cheare empayrd.

31. The wretched man gan then avise too late,
 That love is not where most it is profest;
 Too truely tryde in his extremest state.
 At last, resolv'd likewise to prove the rest,
 He to Cordelia him selfe address,
 Who with entyre affection him receav'd,
 As for her Syre and king her seemed best;
 And after all an army strong she leav'd,
 To war on those which him had of his realme bereav'd.

G. of M., II, 11-14, pp. 24 ff. Leir came to the throne.
 "*Cui negata masculini sexus prole, natae sunt tantummodo
 tres filiae, vocatae: Gonorilla, Regan, Cordeilla*" (*ll. 4 ff.,
 p. 25*). Leir "*cogitavit regnum suum ipsis dividere*"
 (*l. 8*). "*Sed ut sciret quae illarum majore regni parte
 dignior esset, adivit singulas ut interrogaret, quae ipsum
 magis diligeret*" (*ll. 10-11*).

Gonorilla's answer was, "*patrem sibi plus cordi esse
 quam animam, quae in corpore suo degebat*" (*l. 13*).

Regan's answer was, "*se nullatenus conceptum exprimere
 aliter posse, nisi quod ipsum super omnes creaturas dili-
 geret*" (*ll. 18-19*).

Cordeilla's answer began, "*Est uspiam, mi pater, filia,*

quae patrem suum plus quam patrem diligere praesumat (*l.* 24)"? She ended, "Etenim quantum habes, tantum vales, tantumque te diligo" (*l.* 30).

Leir expressed his anger with Cordeilla. "Nec mora: consilio procerum regni dedit praedictas puellas duas duobus ducibus, Cornubiae videlicet et Albaniae cum medietate tantum insulae: dum ipse viveret. Post obitum autem ejus totam monarchiam Britanniae eisdem concessit habendam" (*p.* 25 *f.*, *ll.* 41 *ff.*).

Afterward Aganippus, "Francorum rex," heard of the beauty of Cordeilla, and sought and obtained her hand in marriage, without dowry.

After a long time, when Leir had grown old, the dukes rebelled against him. He was allowed maintenance with sixty soldiers at the house of Maglaunus, duke of Albany and husband of Gonorilla. Two years passed. Then the number of his attendants was reduced to thirty. He went to Regan, whose husband was Henvinus, duke of Cornwall. Before a year had ended she reduced the number of his attendants to five. He returned to Gonorilla and was cut down to one attendant. Thereupon he sought help from Cordeilla, by whose aid he was restored to his kingdom. He died three years later.

Hol., Hist., pp. 19-20. Holinshed follows Geoffrey of Monmouth. He gives the names as Gonorilla, Regan, Cordeilla, Maglanus, Duke of Albania, Henninus, Duke of Cornwall, and Aganippus, "one of the twelve Kyngs that ruled Gallia."

Leir decided to test his daughters, "therefore hee firste asked Gonorilla the eldest, howe well shee loued him."

Gonorilla "protested, that she loued him MORE THAN HER OWNE LIFE, which by righte and reason shoulde be most deere vnto hir."

Regan said, "that she loued him more than tong could expresse, and farre aboue all other creatures of the world."

Cordeilla answered, ". . . I protest vnto you, that I haue loued you euer, and shall continually while I liue,

loue you as my naturall father . . .” She ends with,
 “. . . so much as you haue, so much you are worth,
 and so much I loue you, and no more.”

Leir decreed that the land should be divided between the two eldest at his death, “and the one halfe thereof immediately should be assigned to them in hande.” Aganippus married Cordeilla without dower.

“But to proceede, after that Leir was fallen into age, the two Dukes that had married his two eldest daughters, thinking long ere the gouernement of the land did come to their handes, arose against him in armour, and reft from him the gouernance of the land vpon conditions to be continued for tearme of life: by y^e whiche he was put to his portion, that is to liue after a rate assigned to him for the maintenance of his estate, whyche in proces of time was diminished as well by Maglanus, as by Henninus. But the greatest griefe that Leir toke, was to see the vnkindnesse of his daughters, which seemed to thinke that all was too much which their father hadde, the same being neuer so little: in so muche that going from y^e one to y^e other, he was brought to that miserie, that unneth would they allow him one seruauant to waite vpon him.”

Hardyng, ch. 26, p. 53. Leyr had three daughters, Gonorella, Ragan, and Cordelle.

“Emonges them, as Leyr satte on a daye,
 He asked them howe muche thei hym loued;
 Gonorell saied ‘more then my selfe ay.’
 And Ragan saied more than was after prouid,
 (For joye of whiche the kyng was greatly moued)
 ‘I loue you **more then all this worlde so fayre:**’
 (He graunted them twoo, of thre partes to bee heire.)”

Gonorell married “Maglayn, duke of Albanie.”

“Euin of Walis, and of Cornwayle ther by
 That duke was of those twoo landes stoute,
 Ragan wed(did); to whiche twoo dukes, no doubt,
 Kyng Leyr gaue rule and gouernaunce
 Of all Bryteine, for age and none poussaunce.”

Caxton, Chronicle, ch. 12. “. . . but first he thought to assay / which of hem loued hym moost & best / for she that loued best shold best ben maryued / & he axed of the first doughter how moche she him loued. & she answered and seid better than hir own lyf. now certes quod the father that is a grete loue. Tho axed he of the second doughter / how much she him louid & she said more & passyng al the creatures of the world / per ma foy qd the fadre I may no more axe / & tho axed he of the third doughter / how moche she him loued certes fadre quod she my sustres haue told you glosyng wordes, but forsoth I shal telle trouth / for I loue yow as moche as I ought to loue my fadre / & for to bring you more in certayn how I loue yow / I shall yow telle as moch as ye ben worthe as moche shal ye be loued.” Later, Lear says that Cordelia answered that “she louid me as moch as she ought to loue hir fader by al manere of reson. . . .”

The proper names in Caxton are as follows: Leyr, Gonoryll, Rygau, Cordeyl (or Cordeill), Maugles (or Managles), kyng of Scotland, Hauemos, earl of Cornwall, Agampe, kyng of France, Morgan, Conedage.

Mir. for Mag., Queene Cordilla, st. 11, vol. I, p. 126.

In the middle of Cordilla's answer occurs this line,

“To loue you, as I ought my father, well.”

St. 13, p. 127.

“And eke my sister *Ragan* to *Hinniue* to haue,
And for her dowry *Camber* and *Cornwall*.”

Stow, p. 10. Stow's account of Lear is very brief. Lear “had three daughters, *Gonorill*, *Regan*, and *Cordeilla*, which *Cordeilla* for her vertue and wisdom towards her father, succeeded him in the Kingdome.”

Warner, Albions England, Bk. I, C. 14, p. 65.

“About a thirtie yeeres and fíue did *Leir* rule this Land,
When, doting on his daughters three, with them he fell in
hand

To tell how much they loued him. The Elders did esteeme
 Her life inferior to her loue, so did the second deeme:
 The yongest said **her loue was such as did a child behoue,**
 And that how much himselfe was worth, so much she him
 did loue."

As to "Cordella,"

"for her forme, and vertuous life, a noble *Gallian* King
 Did her, vndowed, for his Queene into his Countrie bring."

Spenser's story of King Lear follows the outline of Geoffrey's narrative, but shows a few changes in details, and such variation in incidents as would naturally result from an endeavor to shorten the story without detracting from its interest. Perhaps to accomplish this Spenser substituted the immediate division of the kingdom for Geoffrey's partial division, which was not to be followed by the gift of the whole³³ until after the death of Lear.³⁴ This abridgment would of itself have necessitated a second change, inasmuch as the rebellion against Lear would no longer be a necessary step toward the catastrophe. The same desire for brevity would have led Spenser to omit the particulars of the unnatural conduct of Gonorilla and Regan, and to assign the whole action to Lear's old age. So far, then, as the choice and the order of incidents go, Spenser's account may well have been based entirely on Geoffrey's. The belief that it was so based is confirmed by the verbal similarity that appears in the beginning of the story.

The possibility still remains that later chronicles influenced Spenser's account in phrasing and detail. The answers of the three daughters at once attract attention. As they stand in the versions of the story that are most likely to have influenced Spenser they may be tabulated as follows:—

³³ "*Totam monarchiam Britanniac.*"

³⁴ See also Hardyng, p. 78, above.

Gonorill. Spenser: more than her own life.

Geoffrey: plus . . . quam animam quae in corpore suo degebat.

Hardyng: more them myself ay.

Caxton: better than hir owne lyf.

Holinshed: more than her owne life, which by right and reason should be most deere vnto hir.

Warner: The elder did esteem her life inferior to her love.

Regan. Spenser: Greater love to him profest
Then all the world.

Geoffrey: super omnes creaturas.

Hardyng: more then all this world so fayre.

Caxton: more and passyng all the creatures of the world.

Holinshed: far aboue all other creatures of the world.

Cordelia. Spenser: she lov'd him as behoov'd.

Geoffrey: Begins with a question and is long.

Caxton: I loue yow as moche as I ought to loue my father.

Holinshed: loue you as my naturall father.

Warner: The youngest said her loue was such as did a childe behoue.

This tabulation shows that in the wording of the first answer Spenser agrees with Holinshed, in that of the second with Hardyng, and in that of the third with Warner. The coincidence in the first case might result from independent translations of Geoffrey's Latin, but in the second case this seems less likely, and in the third case impossible. The closing sentence of Cordeilla's answer in Geoffrey, "Etenim quantum habes, tantum vales, tantumque diligo," is repeated in all the versions of the Lear story that are at all full, except Warner's and Spenser's. This, when taken in connection with the use of the word *behoov'd* by both poets, seems to be more than the result of chance.³⁵

Again an influence from some source later than Geoffrey

³⁵ It is possible that both Spenser and Warner were influenced by Caxton's simple, "I loue you as moche as I ought to loue my father." Yet the coincidence may be due to the fact that both poets needed a word to rhyme with love.

appears in the titles of the husbands of Gonorilla and Regan. According to Geoffrey, Holinshed, and most of the other writers they are dukes; in Spenser they are kings. Furthermore, according to most versions, Regan marries the ruler of Cornwall, but according to Spenser she marries the ruler of Cambria. To explain both these changes Perrett has suggested that Spenser had in mind the original division of the kingdom among the sons of Brutus.³⁶ This explanation, however, loses sight of the fact that Spenser made Locrine "the soveraine Lord of all" and never applied the title of king to the other two brothers. It neglects also the very probable influence of the writers who preceded Spenser. In Hardyng we have Regan married to

"Euin of Walis, and of Cornwayle ther by
That duke was of those two landes stoute."

And Lear

"gave rule and governaunce
Of all Briteine"

to his two sons-in-law. Following Hardyng alone, then, Spenser might by anticipation have named the two men as kings, because of the royal power that immediately became theirs, and not wishing to mention both Wales and Cornwall, he might have retained Wales as the more important division of Britain in his own day. The name he would naturally have changed to Cambria, especially as Hardyng later speaks of Regan's son as "king of Cambre yt Walis is nowe." A tendency to do this would have been strengthened by a recollection of the lines in the *Mirror for Magistrates*.

"And eke my sister Ragan to Hinniue to haue,
And for her dowry Camber and Cornwall."

Finally we have the fact that Caxton calls Mangles "kyng of Scotland." The united influence of these statements in

³⁶ See Perrett, *Story of King Lear*, p. 92.

Hardyng, Caxton, and the *Mirror for Magistrates* is sufficient to account for Spenser's details.

We may conclude, then, that Spenser's version of the Lear story is in general outline based directly on Geoffrey's, which by condensation, however, is somewhat modified, and that it is influenced in phrasing and detail by Holinshed, Warner, and Hardyng, and perhaps also by Caxton and the *Mirror for Magistrates*.

32. So to his crowne she him restord againe;
In which he dyde, made ripe for death by eld,
And after wild it should to her remaine,
Who peaceably the same long time did weld,
And all mens harts in dew obedience held;
Till that her sisters children, woxen strong,
Through proud ambition against her rebeld,
And overcommen kept in prison long,
Till weary of that wretched life her selfe she hong.

|

G. of M., II, 15, p. 28 f. Cordeilla ruled five years. Her sisters' sons then rebelled against her and put her in prison: "ubi ob amissionem regni dolore obducta sese interfecit" (l. 12, p. 29).

Hol., Hist., p. 20. Cordeilla ruled five years. She was then imprisoned by her sisters' sons. She "slew herself."

Mir. for Mag., *Queene Cordila*, st. 47, vol. I, p. 138. After Despair had tempted Cordila in vain (pp. 134-139), he killed her with a knife.

The only variation from Geoffrey in this part of the Lear story is Spenser's statement that Cordelia hanged herself. Laȝamon says that she killed herself with a knife,³⁷ with which weapon also she is slain by Despair in the *Mirror for Magistrates*. The usual statement is the simple "she slew herself." Spenser may have varied the mode of death

³⁷ Laȝamon's *Brut*, ed. Madden, vol. I, ll. 3776-7, p. 160.

because hanging seemed to him more tragic,³⁸ or through the influence of Greek tragedy,* or because he had in mind the *Mirror for Magistrates*, where a long passage that describes Cordelia's death is devoted chiefly to an account of the temptation of the imprisoned Queen by Despair, who offers her various means of death — poison, a rope, a knife. It is only after she has refused to use any of them that he seizes the knife and kills her. These verses certainly influenced Spenser in his account of the temptation of the Red Cross Knight by Despair,³⁹ an account in which hanging is curiously emphasized. Sir Terwin, when he appears, has around his neck a rope which Despair has given him. Then Despair offers to the Red Cross Knight "swords, ropes, poison, fire." In the end, disappointed of his prey, Despair

"chose an halter from among the rest,
And with it hong himselfe, unbid, unblest."

Since death by hanging is so conspicuous in a passage suggested at least in part by the temptation of Cordelia in the *Mirror for Magistrates*, it may well be that the rope which was there offered to her remained in Spenser's mind and led him to say that Cordelia hanged herself. The *Mirror for Magistrates*, then, with Geoffrey's *Historia*, would seem to have been the source of Spenser's stanza.

33. Then gan the bloody brethren both to raine;
But fierce Cundah gan shortly to envy

³⁸ This is not the only case where Spenser has substituted hanging for some other death. In the *Faerie Queene*, I, 5, 50, we have

"Faire Sthenoboea, that herself did choke
With wilful cord, for wanting of her will."

According to classical story she drank poison (Aristoph., *Ran.*, 1082). In the *Faerie Queene*, III, 3, 36, Pellite was hanged, although according to Geoffrey, Holinshed, and others, he was stabbed. See pp. 158-162, below.

* This is the suggestion of Professor J. Douglas Bruce.

³⁹ *Faerie Queene*, I, 9, 50-51. See Warton, *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, ed. Hazlitt, IV, 196.

His brother Morgan, prickt with proud disdaine
 To have a pere in part of soverainty;
 And kindling coles of cruell enmity,
 Raisd warre, and him in batteill overthrew,
 Whence as he to those woody hilles did fly,
Which hight of him Glamorgan, there him slew:
Then did he raigne alone, when he none equall knew.

G. of M., II, 15, p. 29. Marganus, son of Maglaunus, and Cunedagius, son of Henvinus, shared the kingdom of Cordeilla. After two years Marganus attacked Cunedagius, but he was defeated, pursued, and killed "in pago Cambriae, qui post interfectionem Margani *ejus nomine videlicet* Margan hucusque a pagensibus *appellatus est*. Potitus itaque Cunedagius victoria *monarchiam totius insulae adeptus est, camque* triginta tribus annis gloriose *tractavit*" (ll. 25 ff.).

Hol., Hist., pp. 20 and 27 (sic). Cunedagius (or Cunedag) and Marganus (or Margan) nephews of Cordeilla, shared the kingdom. After two years Margan attacked Cunedag, but he was defeated, pursued, and killed in Cambria: ". . . he was there ouercome & slaine in y^e field, by reason whereof, y^t countrey tooke name of him, being there slaine, and so is called to this day Glau Margan, which is to meane in our English tong Margans land."

Hardyng, ch. 29, p. 55.

"Condage was kyng of (Cambre, y^t Walis is nowe)

* * * * *

At Glomorgane, with Morgan did he meete,
 In bataill sleugh hym, there casten vnder fete."

Polychronicon (Trevisa), Rolls Series, III, p. 41. Cunedagius "slow_z Morgan, þat was rebel aȝenst hem, in Glamorgan in Wales, and by cause of þat happe þat contray is ȝit i-cleped Morgans londes."

Grafton, p. 37.

"Which field or Country where the said Morgan fought, and was slaine, is to this day called Glamargan, which is as much to say, as Morgans land."

Caxton, ch. 14. Morgan and Conedage.

Mir. for Mag., King Morgan, st. 14, vol. I, p. 146.

"And for to keepe in memory for aye
That there vnfaythfull *Morgan* lost his life,
The place is cal'd *Glamorgan* to this daye."

Stow, p. 10. "*Morgan*, the eldest Sonne of Dame *Gonorilla*, claimed Britaine, and warred on his nephew *Cunedagius*, that was king of Camber (that is now Wales) and of Cornwall, but *Cunedagius* met with *Morgan* in Wales, and there slew him: which place is called Glamorgan till this day. And then *Cunedagius* was King of all Brytaine."

Spenser agrees with Geoffrey in the sequence and form of the two statements, (1) that a country in Wales was named after Morgan, and (2) that Cundah, after the defeat of his brother, reigned alone.⁴⁰ But the names of both brothers show the influence of later chronicles, as does also the name Glamorgan. Cundah seems to be a shortened form of the Cunedag of Holinshed, or of the Conedage of Caxton, or of the Condage of Hardyng, while Morgan is to be found in Caxton and Grafton, and both Morgan and Glamorgan are given in Hardyng, the *Polychronicon*, the *Mirror for Magistrates*, and Stow. As Geoffrey does not give the name Glamorgan in any form, and as Holinshed renders it Glau Margan, Spenser has clearly modified Geoffrey's account without following Holinshed. His modification may have come from any one of several sources, or from the combined influence of them all. At the same time, the foundation of the story remains the narrative in Geoffrey.

⁴⁰ Stow has a similar sequence and phrasing, but does not give authority for Spenser's first line.

34. His sonne Rivall' his dead rowme did supply;
In whose sad time blood did from heaven rayne.

G. of M., II, 16, pp. 29-30. Rivallo, son of Cunedagius, succeeded him. In his time it rained blood three days together, and there fell vast swarms of flies, followed by a great mortality among the people.

Hol., Hist., p. 27. Riualon, or Ryuall,⁴¹ son of Cunedag, succeeded him, and ruled forty-six years. During his time it rained blood three days, and afterwards there were many flies, and many people died.

Hardyng, ch. 30, p. 56. Hardyng speaks of the flies, and continues:—

“And rayned bloodde the same .III. dayes also,
Greate people dyed, the land to mykell woo.”

Grafton, p. 37. There was a rain of blood and then flies came. “And after (as sayth an olde Authour) ensued great sicknesse and mortalitie, to the great desolation of this land.”

Stow, p. 10.

“*Riualus*, Sonne of *Cunedagius*, succeeded his father, in whose time it rained blood three daies: after which tempest, ensued a great multitude of venemous flies”

These two lines bear a strong resemblance to Stow's account of the reign of Rivallus, and both Stow and Spenser reproduce Geoffrey's account. Spenser's “sad time” may, however, reflect Hardyng's “the land to mykell woo.” Yet the facts in Geoffrey would be in themselves a sufficient justification for Spenser's adjective. It is not necessary to assume any other source than the *Historia*.

34. ll. 3-6. Next great Gurgustus, then faire Cæcily,
In constant peace their kingdomes did contayne.
After whom Lago, and Kinmarke did rayne,
And Gorbogud, till far in years he grew:

⁴¹ In the 1587 edition (vol. I, *Hist. of Eng.*, p. 14) the forms Riualus and Riual are used.

G. of M., II, 16, ll. 4 ff., p. 29.

"Post hunc (Cunedagius) vero successit Gurgustius filius ejus: cui Sisillius: cui Lago Gurgustii nepos: cui Kinmarcus⁴² Sisillii filius: post hunc Gorbodug. Huic nati fuerunt duo filii: quorum unus Ferrex alter Porrex nuncupabatur."

Hol., Hist., p. 27 and p. 22 (*sic*). Succession of kings: Gurgustius; Sysillius or Siluius, brother of Gurgustius, who "in the English chronicle is named Sezil;" Iago or Lago, cousin of Gurgustius; Kinimachus or Kinmarus (in margin, Kinimak), "son of Sycillius;" Gorbodug, son of Kinimachus.

"*Robert of Gloucester*," l. 903, sicille: *Robert Manning of Brunne*, l. 2632, Cycyllius, l. 2633, Cycilly: *Hardyng*, ch. 30, p. 56, Scicilius: *Fabyan*, p. 17. "Cecilius or after some wryters Siluius . . . This in the Englysshe Boke is named Seyzill:" *Stow*, p. 10, Scicilius.

Spenser's account of the five kings who ruled after Riuallo seems to be nothing more than a re-phrasing of Geoffrey's. Three of the names, Gurgustus, Caecily, and Gorbogud, are slightly different from what we should expect from Geoffrey's Latin, yet do not seem to have been affected by the later chroniclers, except for Caecily, which is noticeably similar to the Cycilly in Robert Manning of Brunne, a form which may have been preserved in some of the chronicles which Spenser knew. At least Spenser must have been influenced by the spellings in older chronicles such as Fabyan's. The three syllable form, however, and likewise the names Gurgustus and Gorbogud, may result from Spenser's changes for euphony and for convenience in versification.

34, ll. 7 ff. Then his ambitious sonnes unto them twayne
Arraught the rule, and from their father drew;
Stout Ferrex and sterne Porrex him in prison threw.

⁴² In the editions of 1508 and 1517, Kinimacus.

35. But O! the greedy thirst of royall crowne,
 That knowes no kinred, nor regards no right,
 Stird Porrex up to put his brother downe;
 Who, unto him assembling forreigne might,
 Made warre on him, and fell him selfe in fight:
 Whose death t'avenge, his mother mercillesse,
 Most mercillesse of women, Wyden hight,
 Her other sonne fast sleeping did oppresse,
 And with most cruell hand him murdred pittillesse.

G. of M., II, 16, p. 29 f. "Cum autem in senium vergeret pater, orta est contentio inter eos, uter eorum in regno succederet" (*l. 8 f.*). Porrex designed to kill Ferrex treacherously. Ferrex escaped and sought aid of the Franks. He returned with an army, and was defeated and killed. The mother of the two brothers, "cui nomen Widen" (*p. 30. l. 15*), in revenge slew Porrex while he slept, and with the help of her women tore him into pieces.

Hol., Hist., p. 22. Ferrex and Porrex inherited the kingdom and quarreled for supremacy. Ferrex fled to Gallia, and having obtained help, returned to England, where in battle with Porrex he was slain. The English chronicle says that it was Porrex who fled to France, and Ferrex who survived. "But whether of them so euer suruiued, the mother of them was so highly offended for the deathe of him that was slayne, whome she most entirely loued, that setting aparte all motherly affection, she found meanes to enter the chamber of him that suruiued, in the night season, and as hee slept, she with helpe of hir maidens slue him, and cut him into small peeces, as the writers doe affirme."

Spenser reproduces in a brief form the essential points of Geoffrey's account of Ferrex and Porrex. His only variation is the apparently unauthorized statement that the two sons imprisoned their father. They quarreled, according to Geoffrey, during the lifetime of their father, but ac-

according to Holinshed, after his death. Spenser's story is manifestly nearer to Geoffrey's than to Holinshed's. Indeed, his variation may be an inference to explain the fate of the father, which Geoffrey leaves in obscurity. There is no evidence that Spenser was influenced by any authority other than Geoffrey.

36. Here ended Brutus sacred progeny,

Which had seven hundred yeares this scepter borne
 With high renowne and great felicity:
 The noble braunch from th' antique stocke was torne
 Through discord, and **the roiall throne forlorne.**
 Thenceforth this Realme was into factions rent,
 Whilest each of Brutus boasted to be borne,
 That in the end was left no moniment
 Of Brutus, nor of Britons glorie auncient.

G. of M., II, 16, p. 30. After the death of Porrex there was civil war for a long time, and the island became divided under five kings.

Hol., Hist., p. 22.

"After this folowed a troubleous season, full of cruell warre, & seditious discord, whereby in the ende, and for the space of fiftie yeres, the gouernemente of the Ilande was deuided betwixt fiae Kings or rulers, till Dunwallon of Cornewall ouercame them all. Thus the line of Brute, after the affirmançe of most writers, tooke an end . . ."

Holinshed quotes the *Polychronicon* as saying that the rule of Donuallo was 703 years after Brutus entered Britain.

Stow, p. 10.

"Thus cruelly was the blood and house of *Brute* destroyed, when this Realme by the space of 616 yeeres had beene gouerned by that lynage.

"After, this Realme was diuided with ciuill warres, for lacke of one soueraigne gouernour vntill *Dunwallo* reduced the same into one Monarchie."

Tragedy of Gorboduc, Act V, Sc. 2, ll. 180 ff.

"Loe here the end of Brutus royall line,
And loe the entry to the wofull wracke
And vtter ruine of this noble realme!
The royall king and eke his sonnes are slaine,
No ruler rests within the regall seate,
The heire, to whom the scepter longes, unknownen;
That to eche force of forreine princes power
Whom vauntage of our wretched state may moue
By sodeine armes to gaine so riche a realme,
And to the proud and gredie minde at home
Whom blinded lust to reigne leades to aspire,
Loe, Brittain realme is left an open pray,
A present spoyle by conquest to ensue!"

Warner, Albions England, p. 68.

"And thus from noble *Brute* his line the scepter then did passe:
When of his bloud for to succede no heire suruiuing was."

Here Spenser has made two additions to Geoffrey's narrative: the first, that the line of Brutus ended with Ferrex and Porrex, and the second, that the progeny of Brutus ruled 700 years. The first statement has ample authority in Holinshed and Stow. The second seems to be based on the figures in the *Polychronicon*, quoted by Holinshed, according to which the accession of Dunwallo was 703 years after the arrival of Brutus. Spenser may have identified the accession of the new line with the end of the old, and so have spoken of the 700 years that the line of Brutus reigned. But, while both additions to Geoffrey's story may thus be accounted for by Holinshed, Spenser's expansion of this part of his story and his emotional treatment of it, in strong contrast with Warner's brevity, suggest an influence from the lament of Eubulus in the *Tragedy of Gorboduc*. To this lament Spenser's lines bear a decided resemblance.

For this reason the *Tragedy of Gorboduc* as well as Holins-
hed should be counted as a source of this stanza.

37. Then up arose a man of matchlesse might,
And wondrous wit to menage high affayres,
Who, stird with pittie of the stressed plight
Of this sad realme, cut into sondry shayres
By such as claynd themselves Brutes rightfull hayres,
Gathered the Princes of the people loose
To taken counsell of their common cares;
Who, with his wisdom won, him streight did choose
Their king, and swore him fealty to win or loose.

38. Then made he head against his enimies,
And Ymner slew of **Logris miscreate**;
Then Ruddoc and proud Stater, both allies,
This of Albany newly nominate,
And that of Cambry king confirmed late,
He overthrew through his owne valiaunce;
Whose countries he redus'd to quiet state,
And shortly brought to civile governaunce,
Now one, which earst were many made through variaunce.

39. Then made he sacred lawes, which some men say
Were unto him reveald in vision;
By which he freed the Travelers high-way,
The Churches part, and Ploughmans portion,
RESTRAINING STEALTH AND STRONG EXTORTION,
The gracious Numa of great Britany;
For till his dayes, the chiefe dominion
By strength was wielded without pollicy:
Therefore HE FIRST WORE CROWNE OF GOLD FOR DIGNITY.

G. of M., II, 17, pp. 30-31. Dunvallo Molmutius, son of Cloten, King of Cornwall, killed Ymner, King of Loegria, in battle. Rudaucus, King of Kambria, and Staterius, King of Albania, combined against Dunvallo,

but were defeated and slain. Dunvallo conquered the whole island, and "fecit sibi diadema ex auro" (*p.* 31, *l.* 25). He established the Molmutine laws, and gave right of sanctuary to temples and cities and roads leading to them, and also to husbandmen's ploughs.

Hol., Hist., p. 23. Dunuallo (or Donuallo) Mulmucius, son of Cloton, got the rule over all Britain. Holinshed has previously named the five kings of the island (*p.* 22); Rudacus, King of Wales, Clotenus, King of Cornwall, Pinnor, King of Loegria, Staterus, King of Albania, and Yewan, King of Northumberlande.

Dunuallo had made a crown of gold, and was the first to wear one, so by some he is called the first king. A marginal note (*p.* 23), emphasizes this: "THE FIRST KING THAT WAS CROWNED WITH A GOLDEN CROWNE."

Dunuallo made the Mulmutius laws. "Moreouer, this Mulmutius gaue priuileges to Temples, to ploughes, to Cities, and to high wayes leading to the same, so that who-soeuer fled to them, should be in safegard from bodily harme, and from thence he might depart into what countrey he would . . . AND FURTHER HE DEUISED SORE AND STREIGHT ORDERS FOR THE PUNISHING OF THEFT."

Caxton, ch. 20.

"How donebaud was fyrste kynge that euer wered crowne of gold in Brytayne."

Hardyng, ch. 31, *p.* 60. Names of the kings subdued by Dunwallo, "Pynner, in Logres intrusour," Ruddan, and Stater.

"Dunwallo so called Moluncius,
At Troynouaunt, with royall diademe
Of gold crowned, moost riche and precious,
Vpon his hede as did hym well besene.
The first he was, as chronicles expreme,
That in this isle of Bryteyn had crowne of golde,
For all afore copre and gilt was to beholde."

Mir. for Mag., King Pinnar, st. 4, vol. I, p. 173.

"I did my selfe at last into the throne intrude."
Pinnar is given a bad character.

Spenser, in his account of Dunwallo, closely follows Geoffrey's *Historia*, and yet in three points shows the influence of the later chroniclers. He agrees with Holinshed in his reference to the special laws against stealing; he accepts the statement in Caxton, Hardyng, and Holinshed that Dunwallo was the first king in Britain who ever wore a crown of gold;⁴³ and like Hardyng and the *Mirror for Magistrates*, he gives Ymner an evil reputation. Spenser also adds details, such as the gathering of the princes to choose Dunwallo, and Dunwallo's title, the "Numa of great Britany." Such details, however, are of a nature to give vividness to the narration, and may well be of Spenser's invention, stimulated by his interest in this king, whose reign he describes in unusually vigorous stanzas. For this reason the only sources outside of Geoffrey which we need to assume are Hardyng or the *Mirror for Magistrates*, and Holinshed.

40. Donwallo dyde, (for what may live for ay?)
And left two sonnes, of pearelesse prowess both,
That sacked Rome too dearely did assay,
The recompence of their perjured oth;
And ransackt Greece wel tryde, when they were wroth;
Besides subjected France and Germany,
Which yet their praises speake, all be they loth,
And inly tremble at the memory
Of Brennus and Belinus, kinges of Britany.

⁴³ Geoffrey says only that Dunwallo had made for himself a crown of gold. We may infer from this, as the later chroniclers did, that it was the first gold crown in Britain, or we may infer with equal plausibility that it was made to replace the crown of the previous monarchs, lost during the civil wars.

G. of M., III, 1-10, pp. 31 ff. The first seven chapters relate the strife between the two sons of Dunvallo, Brennius⁴⁴ and Belinus. Finally Brennius became Duke of the Allobroges. The two brothers then subdued Gaul and marched to Rome. They made a treaty with the Romans and invaded Germany. The Romans broke the treaty. Brennius then marched on Rome, while Belinus remained in Germany. When Belinus heard that the Romans were about to intercept Brennius, he marched to his assistance. He conquered the Romans and joined Brennius in the siege of Rome. In a battle before the city the brothers lost heavily, but were in the end victorious. Rome surrendered, Brennius remained to rule Italy, and Belinus returned to Britain.

Hol., Hist., pp. 23, 24, 25, 42, 27, and 21 (sic). Brennus and Belinus conquered Germany and together attacked Rome. The story for the most part follows Geoffrey, but there is no mention of the broken treaty. Of the conquest of Greece Holinshed says (*p. 27*), “. . . Brennus, the which . . . was a Brytain, and brother to Beline (as before is mentioned) although I know that many other writers are not of that mind, affyrming him to be a Gaul, and likewise that after this present time of the taking of Rome by this Brennus 110 yeares, or there aboutes, there was another Brennus a Gaull also by Nation (say they) vnder whose conduct an other armie of the Gaulles inuaded Grecia, whiche Brennus had a brother that hight Belgius, although Humfrey LLhuyd and sir John Price doo flatlie denie the same, by reason of some discordance in writers, and namely in the computation of the yeares set downe by them that haue recorded the doings of those times, whereof the error is growen. Howbeit I doubt not but that the truth of this matter shall be more fully sifted out in time by the learned and studious of such antiquities.”

Stow, p. 11. “Wherefore, while the Macedens being beaten, kept them within the walls of their Cities, Brennus

⁴⁴ In the edition of 1517, Brennus.

like a Conqueror, against whom, no man durst shew his head to make resistance, forraged all the Iles of Macedon. And from thence, as though those booties and spoyles seemed too base and simple in his eye, he turned his minde to the Temples of the gods, scoffing that the gods were rich, and ought to depart liberally to men." Stow continues with a full description of the visit which Brennus made to Delphos.

In Spenser's brief but appreciative account of Brennus and Belinus there is again evidence of the fusion of the *Historia* and the later chronicles. Only in Geoffrey is the story of the broken treaty told at length and with sufficient detail to suggest Spenser's lines,

"That sacked Rome too dearely did assay,
The recompence of their perjured oth."

And only in later writers is there any mention of the conquest of Greece. This Spenser could have found in Fabyan,⁴⁵ Grafton,⁴⁶ the *Mirror for Magistrates*,⁴⁷ and Stow. Holinshed also speaks of it, though in so argumentative a manner as to make his influence doubtful. Probably the agreement of these writers, rather than the influence of any single one of them, accounts for Spenser's inclusion of the non-Galfridian material in a stanza which of necessity omitted much of the original story.

41. Next them did Gurgiunt,⁴⁸ great Belinus sonne,
In rule succede, and eke in fathers praise;
He Easterland subdewd, and Denmarke wonne,
And of them both did foy and tribute raise,
The which was dew in his dead fathers daies:
He also gave to *fugitives of Spayne*,

⁴⁵ p. 24.

⁴⁶ p. 45.

⁴⁷ Vol. I, pp. 198 ff.

⁴⁸ So ed. 1590; in 1596, "Gurgunt."

Whom he *at sea found wandring from their waies,*
 A seate in Ireland safely to remayne,
 Which they SHOULD HOLD OF HIM, AS SUBJECT to Britayne.

G. of M., III, 11-12, pp. 39-40. Gurgunt Brabtruc succeeded his father Belinus. He conquered the neighboring provinces that rebelled against him, and forced the king of the Dacians to continue to pay the tribute and homage which he had paid to Belinus. On his way home from the conquest of Dacia he found among the Orkney Islands thirty ships, on board of which were refugees from Spain. The leader spoke with Gurgunt. "*Dicebat autem se ex partibus Hispaniarum expulsum fuisse . . . Petebat . . . ne odiosum iter maris diutius pererraret: Annus enim cum dimidio jam elapsus fuerat, ex quo patria sua pulsus per Oceanum cum sociis navigaverat*" (*ch. 12, ll. 5 ff., p. 39*).

Hol., Hist., p. 21. Gurguyntus (or Gurguint) reconquered Denmark because tribute was refused to him. He fell in with the people banished from Spain. They "had sayled long on the Sea, to the ende to finde some Prince that woulde assigne to them a place of habitation vnto whom they would BECOME SUBIECTS, & HOLD OF HIM as of theyr soueraigne gouverneur." Gurguint settled them in Ireland.

Hol., ed. 1587, vol. II, First Inhabitation of Ireland, p. 58.

" . . . certeine merchants of Norwaie, Denmarke, and of other those parties, called *Ostomanni*, or (as in our vulgar language we tearme them) Easterlings, bicause they lie East in respect of us"

The marginal note reads: "Easterlings began to trade into Ireland."

Caxton, ch. 24.

"& the kynge of denmarke wolde not paye hym his truage. that is to saye a .M. pounde / as he had sworn by othe for to paye it / & also by writing recorded to belyn his fader."

Spenser's account of Gurgiunt closely follows Geoffrey's even in phrasing, but adds the conquest of Easterland and the statement that Ireland was to be held "as subject to Britayne." For the conquest of Easterland there seems to be no authority. The name itself may be derived from the name of the people mentioned by Holinshed, "the Ostomanni or . . . Easterlings."⁴⁹ The statement that Ireland was to be subject to Britain seems certainly based on Holinshed.⁵⁰ Holinshed and Geoffrey, therefore, were apparently Spenser's sources for everything in this stanza except the reference to Easterland.

42. After him raigned Guitheline his **hayre**,
The justest man and trewest in his daies,
Who had to wife Dame Mertia the fayre,
 A woman worthy of immortall praise,
 Which for this Realme found many goodly layes,
 And wholesome Statutes to her husband brought.
 Her many deemd to have beene of the Fayes,
 As was Aegerie that Numa taught:
 Those yet of her be **Mertian lawes** both nam'd and
 thought.

G. of M., III, 13, p. 40. "Post illum Guithelinus⁵¹ diadema regni suscepit, quod omni vitae suae tempore benigne et modeste tractavit. Erat ei nobilis mulier Martia nomine, omnibus artibus erudita. Haec inter multa et inaudita, quae proprio ingenio repererat, invenit legem quam Britones Martianam appellaverunt." After the death of Guithelinus Martia ruled during the minority of their son.

Hol., Hist., pp. 21-22. Guintolinus or Guintellius, "a prudent Prince, graue in counsell, and sober in behauour.

⁴⁹ The Easterlings are mentioned by Spenser, st. 63, below.

⁵⁰ The resemblance has previously been pointed out by Kitchin, notes to the *Faerie Queene*, Bk. II, p. 227.

⁵¹ Editions of 1508 and 1517, Guinthelinus.

He had also a wife named Martia, a woman of passing beauteie, and wisdomes incomparable. . . ." The Martian laws are not mentioned in the account of Guintolinus, but in the account of Sicilius.

Hardyng, ch. 35, p. 66.

"(Gvytelyn, his sonne, gan reigne as **heyre**)
Of all Brytayn, aboute vnto the sea,
Who wedded was to Marcyan full fayre
That was so wyse in her femynitee;
That lawes made of her syngularytee,
That called wer the **lawes Marcyane**
In Britayne tongue, of her owne witte alane.

"This Guytelyn was good of his estate,
Full **iuste he was** in all his judgement,
Wise . . ."

A whole stanza is given to the praise of Guytelyn.

Stow, p. 12. "*Guinthelinus*, sonne of *Gurgunstus*, was crowned King of Brytaine. A Prince sober and quiet, who had to wife a woman named *Mercia*, of excellent learning and knowledge. She deuised certaine Lawes, which long time among the Brytains were greatly esteemd, and named *Mercian Lawes*."

Spenser's account of Guitheline and Mertia shows in its phrasing such a strong resemblance to Hardyng's as to make the influence of Hardyng a certainty.⁵² Spenser's form of the king's name, however, differs from that used by Hardyng and the other later chroniclers, and likewise from that in the early printed editions of Geoffrey. But Spenser's form appears in the San Marte edition of Geoffrey, so it seems probable that Spenser may have taken it from some manuscript of the *Historia*. The comparison of Mertia to Aegeria, like the reference to Numa in the account of Dunwallo, is not suggested by the chroniclers.

⁵² See Kitchin, *Book II of the Faerie Queene*, notes, p. 227. Kitchin has pointed out the resemblance, but has overlooked the fact that only in Hardyng is there precedent for Spenser's adjective "just."

Spenser's sources for this stanza seem to have been Geoffrey and Hardyng.

43. Her sonne Sisillus⁵³ after her did rayne;
 And then Kimarus; and then Danius:
 Next whom Morindus did the crowne sustayne;
Who, had he not with wrath outrageous
And cruell rancour dim'd his valorous
And mightie deedes, should matched have the best:
 As well in that same field victorious
 Against the forreine Morands he exprest;
 Yet lives his memorie, though carcas sleepe in rest.

G. of M., III, 14-15, p. 40 f. Succession of kings: Sisilius; Kimarus; Danius;⁵⁴ Morvidus.⁵⁵ "*Hic*" (Morvidus) "*nimia probitate famosissimus esset, nisi immoderate crudelitati indulisset*" (*ch. 14, ll. 6-7*). He subdued a king of the Morini ("rex Moranorum"). He was himself devoured by a sea-monster. He left five sons.

Hol., Hist., p. 29. Succession of kings: Sicilius; Kimarus; Elanius (called in the English Chronicle "Haran" and by Matthew Westmin., "Dانيوس"); Morindus. "This Morindus in the Englishe Chronicle is called Morwith, and was a man of worthie fame in chivalrie, and Martiall doings, but so cruell withall, that his vnmmercifull nature could vneth be satisfied with the torments of them that had offended him, although oftentimes with his own handes he cruelly put them to torture and execution." He defeated a king of the Moriani, whom Holinshead does not think were the Moravians or the Merhenners. Morindus was devoured by a sea-monster. He left five sons.

Ponticus Virunnius, ed. 1585, p. 14. Morindus. Genitive form, "Morinorum," the people subdued by Morindus.

⁵³ "All copies read Sifillus." See *Spenser*, Globe ed., p. 689.

⁵⁴ In the editions of 1508 and 1517, Elanius.

⁵⁵ In the editions of 1508 and 1517, Morindus.

Hardyng, ch. 35, p. 66. Sicilius: ch. 36, p. 67, "the kyng of Morians."

Grafton, p. 46. Cecilius or Sisillus: p. 47. "Kimarus, ye sonne of Cecilius . . . Morindus."

Fabyan, p. 26. Sicillius or Secilius.

Bale, *Scriptores Britanniae*, ed. 1557, p. 13. Sisillus.

Mir. for Mag., *Kimarus*, st. 5, vol. I, p. 209. Cicilius.

Stow, p. 12. Cecilius.

The name Sisilius⁵⁶ underwent many changes at the hands of the chroniclers. Spenser's form is to be found in Grafton and Bale. The name Kimarus shows no variation. Spenser's form Danius appears in the San Marte edition of Geoffrey, but in the early printed editions we have Elanius, which is also the preferred form in Holinshed. Spenser's Morindus, on the other hand, agrees with the form in the early printed editions of Geoffrey, and not with that reproduced in the San Marte text. The form Morindus is also found in Grafton, Ponticus Virunnius, Holinshed, and Stow. The description of the character of Morindus seems based on Geoffrey. The evidence of the names is not decisive, but on the whole the main source of the stanza appears to be Geoffrey.

One point remains inexplicable. Spenser goes out of his way to say that the body of Morindus sleeps in rest, although other chroniclers agree that Morindus was devoured by a sea-monster. No version of the story is known which warrants this contradiction, as it were, of the usual account.

44. Five sonnes he left, begotten of one wife,
All which successively by turnes did rayne:
First Gorboman, a man of vertuous life,
Next Archigald, who for his proud disdayne
Deposed was from pryncedome soverayne,

⁵⁶ Cf. Sisillius, p. 88, above.

And pitteous Elidure put in his sted;
 Who shortly it to him restord agayne,
 Till by his death he it recovered;
 But Peridure and Vigent him disthronized.

45. In wretched prison long he did remaine,
 Till they outraged had their utmost date,
 And then therein reseized was againe,
 And ruled long with honorable state,
 Till he surrendered Realme and life to fate.
 Then all the sonnes of these five brethren raynd
 By dew successe, and all their Nephewes late;
 Even thrise eleven descents the crowne retaynd,
 Till aged Hely by dew heritage it gaynd.

G. of M., III, 16–20, pp. 41 ff. Succession of kings: Gorbonianus ("Nullus ea tempestate eo justior erat, aut aequi amantior." *Ch. 16, l. 2 f., p. 41*); Arthgallo,⁵⁷ who plundered the rich, and was deposed by them; Elidurus, "qui postea propter misericordiam, quam in fratrem fecit, Pius vocatus fuit" (*ch. 17, l. 11 f., p. 42*), and who restored Arthgallo to the throne, and afterwards, on the death of Arthgallo, again became king; Vigenius and Peredurus, who deposed Elidurus. "Potiti vero victoria, ceperunt illum, et intra turrin urbis Trinovantinae incluserunt, imponentes custodes" (*ch. 18, l. 5 f., p. 43*). Vigenius and Peredurus died, and Elidurus came to the throne a third time.

Ch. 19 names the thirty-three successors to Elidurus.

Ch. 20 says that the last of these, Hely, reigned forty years.

Hol., Hist., pp. 30 ff. Morindus left five sons, Gorbonianus or Gorbonian,⁵⁸ Archigallo, ⁵⁹ Elidurus, Vigenius

⁵⁷ In the editions of 1508 and 1517, Archigallo.

⁵⁸ The form Gorbomannus appears in the list of the sons of Morindus at the end of the account of the reign of Morindus. It is corrected in the second edition to Gorbonianus (*I, Hist. of Eng., p. 20*).

⁵⁹ Changed in the second edition to Archigallus (*I, Hist. of Eng., p. 20*).

or Nigenius, and Peredurus. Gorbonianus was "a righteous Prince in his gouernment, and very deuout (according to such deuotion as he had) towards the aduauncing of the religion of his Gods." The other sons are described as in Geoffrey, and the same story is told. The successors to Elidurus were thirty-two or thirty-three kings, the last of whom was Hely (or Helie).

Caxton, ch. 30.

"After Grandobodyan regned his sone artogayll V yere / and he become so wykked and so sterne / that the britons wold not suffre hym to be kyng / but put hym a doune / and made Hesydur his broder kyng & he bycome so good & merciable / that men hym callid kyng of pyte / And whan he regned V yere he had so grete pite of his broder artogayll that was kyng byfore / & anon he forsoke his dignyte. and toke his broder the crowne ayene . . ."

Hardyng, ch. 37, p. 68.

"Howe this kyng was crowned, in defaute of his elder brother, and after, of pure pytee, crowned his brother agayne."

Ch. 38, p. 70.

Elidure "was so full of [all] pytee
That in all thyng mercy he dyd preserue. . . ."

His brothers

"prisoned hym full sore and wrongfullye
All in the towre of Troynouaunt for thy."

Ch. 39, p. 70.

"Eledour was [kyng all newe made] againe,
Thrise crowned . . ."

Fabyan, p. 28. Archigallo; *p. 29.* Gorbonianus or Gorbomanus.

Grafton, I, p. 47.

"Gorbomannus the first sonne of Morindus."

Stow, p. 12.

"*Gorbomannus*, eldest Sonne of *Morindus*, raigned 11 yeeres."

Spenser has compressed the account of the five sons of Morindus and their thirty-three successors into two stanzas, which reproduce the general outline of the story in Geoffrey, and yet show also the influence of the later chroniclers. From the form in the early printed editions of Geoffrey, or more probably from Fabyan's Archigallo and Holinshed's Archigallus, Spenser made the name Archigald. From Fabyan, Grafton, or Stow, or less probably from the one occurrence of the name in the first edition of Holinshed, he took the name Gorboman. The description of Gorboman as "a man of vertuous life," seems due to Holinshed's adjective "devout" rather than to Geoffrey's account of the king's justice. According to Kitchin, Spenser's adjective "pitteous" applied to Elidure is the result of Hardyng's statement that he "was so full of all pytee."⁶⁰ To this it may be added that the heading of the chapter in Hardyng's chronicle states that Elidure "of pure pytee" crowned his brother. Caxton likewise emphasizes the word pity, in this sense of "evincing pity." If the adjective be understood in its other meaning, "fitted to excite pity," one might refer to Hardyng's description of how Elidure's brothers

"prisoned hym full sore and wrongfullye
All in the towre of Troynouant for thy."

The meaning of "evincing pity," is, however, the more probable,⁶¹ and might easily come from Geoffrey's statement that Elidurus was surnamed Pius because of his pity for his brother.⁶² The influence of Hardyng, therefore, need not necessarily be assumed, although it is a possibility. Neither is it necessary to assume the influence of Fabyan.

⁶⁰ *Faerie Queene*, Bk. II, ed. Kitchin, p. 227.

⁶¹ See *Spenser*, Globe ed., Glossary, p. 727.

⁶² "*Propter misericordiam*."

Grafton, and Stow, as Geoffrey and the first edition of Holinshed could have furnished Spenser with all his material. It is significant, however, that except for the description of Gorboman the points which seem to show the influence of the later writers are all to be found in more than one chronicle.

46. He had two sonnes, whose eldest, called Lud,
 Left of his life most famous memory,
 And endlesse moniments of his great good :
 The ruin'd *wals he did reedifye*
Of Troynovant, gainst force of enemy,
 And built that *gate which of his name is hight*,
By which he lyes entombed solemnly.
 He left two sonnes, too young to rule aright,
 Androgeus and Tenantius, pictures of his might.

G. of M., III, 20, p. 44. Hely had three sons. Lud, the eldest, succeeded his father. He was famous for building cities. "*Exin gloriosus aedificator urbium existens, renovavit muros Trinovanti et innumerabilibus turribus eam circumcinxit*" (*ll. 4 ff.*). He also commanded the citizens to build beautiful houses. The city was named after him. "*Defuncto tandem illo, corpus ejus reconditum fuit in praedicta civitate juxta portam illam quae adhuc nomine ejus Parthlud Britanice: Saxonice Ludesgata nuncupatur*" (*ll. 15 ff.*). He left two young sons, Androgeus and Tenuantius.⁶³

Hol., Hist., pp. 33-34. Helie had three sons: Lud, the eldest, succeeded his father. He repaired many cities. "but specially he deltyed most to beautife & enlarge with buildings the Citie of Troynouant, which he compassed with a strong wall made of lime and stone, in the best maner fortified with diuerse fayre towers; and in the west part of the same wall he erected a strong gate, which he com-

⁶³ In the edition of 1508, Tennancius; in the edition of 1517, Tenancius.

maunded to be cleped after his name, Luds gate, and so vnto this day it is called Ludgate, the, s, only drowned in y^e pronounciation of the word." The city also was named after him. He was buried near Ludgate. He left two sons, Androgeus and Theomancius or Tenancius. Then "sith the two sonnes of Lud were not of age able to gouerne, the rule of the land was committed to Cassibelane."

Hardyng, ch. 41, pp. 75-76. Lud built the walls of Troynovant.

"Androgeus was then his sonne and heyre,
(Passyng of sight and Iuly fayre)
Tenancius his yonger sonne, of age
Which wer to young to rule the heritage."

Stow, p. 13.

"*Lud* the eldest sonne of *Hely*, succeeded his father: hee amended his Lawes, and tooke away all vsages that were naught: moreouer, hee repaired the Citty of new Troy with fair buildings and walls: and builded on the West part thereof a strong gate, which vnto this time retaineth the name of him, and is called Ludgate. Finally, hee dyed, leauing after him two sonnes, *Androgius*, or *Auaroius*, and *Theomantius*: who not being of the age to gouerne, their uncle Cassibelane obtained the Crowne. London took the name of *Lud*, and was called Ludstone, as saith *Geffrey*."

In saying that Lud rebuilt the walls of London, Spenser is closer to Geoffrey than to any of the later chroniclers, all of whom, except Stow, agree that he built the walls. Stow says that he "repaired" the city "with fair buildings and walls," but Geoffrey wrote "*renovavit muros*," which might well be translated by Spenser's words.

"The . . . wals he did re-ædify."

Therefore Geoffrey seems to have been Spenser's source. The rest of the stanza offers further correspondences in phrasing, and practically repeats Geoffrey's story. There

is only one important variation. Geoffrey says that Hely had three sons, and Spenser says that he had two. The change may possibly be accounted for by the fact that only two of the sons, Lud and Cassibalane, play a part in later events, and by the additional fact that no third son is mentioned by Grafton in his *Abridgement*, by Lanquet in his *Epitome*, or by Stow in either *Summary* or *Chronicle*. In this change the later chroniclers may have influenced Spenser slightly. For the stanza as a whole, however, Geoffrey was apparently the main source.

47. Whilst they were young, Cassibalane, their Eme,
Was by the people chosen in their sted,
Who on him tooke the roiall Diademe,
And goodly well long time it governed;
Till the prowde Romanes him disquieted,
And warlike Cæsar, tempted with the name
Of this sweet Island never conquered,
And envying the Britons blazed fame,
(O hideous hunger of dominion!) hither came.

48. Yet twise they were repulsed backe againe,
And twise renforst backe to their ships to fly;
The whiles with blood they all the shore did staine,
And the gray Ocean into purple dy:
Ne had they footing found at last, perdie,
Had not Androgeus, false to native soyle,
And envious of Uncles soveraintie,
Betrayd his countrey unto forreine spoyle.
Nought els but treason from the first this land did foyle.

49. So by him Cæsar got the victory,
Through great bloodshed and many a sad assay,
In which himselfe was charged heavily
Of hardy Nennius, whom he yet did slay,
But lost his sword, yet to be seene this day.
Thenceforth this land was tributarie made

T'ambitious Rome, and did their rule obay,
 Till Arthur all that reckoning defrayd:
 Yet oft the Briton kings against them strongly swayd.

G. of M., III, 20 and IV, 1-10, pp. 44 ff. The story is told with much detail. A quarrel which involves the supremacy of Cassibelaunus is given as the cause of Androgeus's treachery. In Bk. IV, chapters 3-4, it is said that Nennius attacked Cæsar on his first invasion and was wounded so that he died fifteen days later. Cæsar's sword remained imbedded in the shield of Nennius, and was used by Nennius during the rest of the battle. It was buried with him. The name of the sword was *Crocea Mors*.

Hol., Hist., pp. 34 ff. Holinshed gives a long account which fills twenty-three and a half columns, including, however, four wood-cuts and a chapter heading. He repeats Cæsar's story and Geoffrey's, sometimes side by side and sometimes inextricably mingled. He speaks feelingly of "the contrarietie in writers" (*p.* 45). He means to show "as reason requireth" what "the Romaine histories write of thinges done here by Emperors, or their Lieutenants" (*p.* 45). He tells the story of Nennius briefly (*p.* 39), on the authority of the "British hystorie," as the merest incident of the first invasion of Britain. He gives the name of the uncle as Cassibellane.

Hardyng, chapters 42-44, pp. 76 ff. During the reign of Cassibalayn Cæsar invaded Britain, "Desyryng sore of it the souerayntee." The story of Nennius is given after the third invasion.

Mir. for Mag., Julius Cæsar, st. 26, vol. I, p. 267. Of the Britons it is said,

"And for their second victory with sports they spend the day."

St. 32, p. 269. Androgeus sends to Cæsar for help:
 "On this I expedition made the thirde and laste."

Spenser's account of Cassibalane and of Cæsar's invasion is, on the whole, up to stanza forty-nine, an accurate summary of Geoffrey's narrative. The death of Nennius, however, is there described as if it occurred in the third invasion, though Spenser may not have meant to be so understood, as his "Through great bloodshed and many a sad assay" may refer to all three invasions, instead of to the third exclusively. Yet even if this line were meant to carry the time back to the first invasion, the story of Nennius occupies an odd position, which curiously enough is identical with its position in Hardyng, so that Hardyng seems to have had some influence.

In spite of its compression of many facts into a small space, this passage is characterized by grace of style, a distinctly rapid, easy method of narration, and an appeal to the emotions. As a result, Spenser adds to the usual story of the sword of Nennius that it is "yet to be seen this day," and ends with an exulting reference to Arthur. For these additions, as for the general character of the narrative, he seems to have had no source or example. We may say, therefore, that Geoffrey was his main source, and that from Hardyng came the only additional influence that we can discover.

50. Next him Tenantius raignd; then Kimbeline,
 What time th' eternall Lord in fleshly slime
 Enwombd was, from wretched Adams line
 To purge away the guilt of sinfull crime.
 O joyous memorie of happy time,
 That heavenly grace so plenteously displayd!
 (O too high ditty for my simple rime!)
 Soone after this the Romanes him warrayd;
 For that their tribute he refusd to let be payd.

51. Good Claudius, that next was Emperour,
 An army brought, and with him batteile fought,
 In which the king was by a Treachetour

Disguised slaine, ere any thereof thought :
Yet ceased not the bloody fight for ought ;

G. of M., IV, 11-13, pp. 53-54. Tenuantius ruled, and after him Kymbelinus, his son. He was friendly with the Romans, and freely paid them tribute, which he might well have refused. In his days Christ was born. Kymbelinus had two sons, Guiderius and Arviragus. The former succeeded him and refused tribute to the Romans. Claudius, who then was Emperor, came against him. Hamo, a general under Claudius, disguised himself as a Briton, and fought in the British ranks until he had an opportunity to kill Guiderius.

Hol., Hist., pp. 45 ff. Theomantius (or Tenantius) succeeded Cassibellane. Then Cimbeline (Kymbelyne) ruled, and there was peace with Rome. In his reign Christ was born. In the thirteenth year of Theomantius Augustus started to invade Britain because the tribute had not been paid. He was interrupted three times. "But whether this controuersie which appeareth to fal foorth betwixt the Britaynes and Augustus, was occasioned by Kymbeline or some other Prince of the Britaynes, I have not to avouch: . . .

"Guiderius ye firste son of Kymbaline (of whome Harrison sayeth nothing) beganne his raigne in ye seuententh yere after the incarnation of Christ" (*p. 47*).

He refused to pay tribute. "This Guiderius being a man of stout courage, gaue occasion of breach of peace betwixt the Britaynes and Romaines, denying to pay the tribute . . ." (*p. 47*). The story of Caligula's expedition which ended in gathering cockle-shells is told next, and the story that Dion Cassius gives, according to which Plautius, in the time of Claudius, led the army into Britain and vanquished the sons of Cynobellinus, "for theyr father was dead not very long before" (*p. 49*). Geoffrey's story is told last, and is brief.

Hardyng, ch. 45, p. 80.

" This Kinbelyne reigned fully X yere,
And ruled this lande in lawe and peace full well,
And dyed then, as sayth the chronycler,
That ilke same yere that Christe was (borne w^t zele)
(Of his mother a mayden fayre and wele,)
For Christen folke by grace then to redeme
From payne of hell to blysse, as clerkes deme."

The lines on the birth of Christ that immediately follow the mention of Kimbeline appear to have been suggested by Hardyng's lines on the same subject. The statement that comes next, namely, that the Romans made war on Kimbeline because he refused to pay tribute, may possibly have some foundation in a sentence in Holinshed, where it is said that the war with Rome in the time of Tenantius was due to the refusal of tribute by "Kymbeline or some other Prince of the Brytaines." More probably, however, these lines, like the following, are due to Spenser's omission of Guiderius, whose story is transferred in its totality to Kimbeline. According to Holinshed, Harison omitted Guiderius. Perhaps Harison also transferred the story of Guiderius to Kimbeline and is the source of the passage in Spenser. Certainly, in the face of Holinshed's evidence about Harison, one hesitates to assume that Spenser has here merely made a mistake. Apart from this possible influence of Harison's *Chronologie*, the sources of Spenser seem to have been only Geoffrey and Hardyng.

51, ll. 6 ff. For Arvirage his brothers place supplyde
Both in his armes and crowne, and by that draught
Did drive the Romanes to the weaker syde,
That they to peace agreed. So all was pacifyde.

52. *Was never king more highly magnifide,
Nor dredd of Romanes, then was Arvirage;*

For which the Emperour to him allide
 His daughter Genuiss' in marriage:
 Yet shortly he renounst the vassallage
 Of Rome againe, who hither hastily sent
 Vespasian, that with great spoile and rage
 Forwasted all, till Genuissa gent
 Persuaded him to cease, and her lord to relent.

G. of M., IV, 13-16, pp. 54 ff. Arviragus assumed his brother's arms, and the Britons, unconscious of the death of their king, fought under his leadership until they were victorious over the Romans. Peace was made. Arviragus recognized the supremacy of Rome, and received in marriage Genuissa,⁶⁴ the daughter of Claudius. Afterward he assumed sole power. Vespasianus was sent against him. There was a drawn battle; then peace was made by Genuissa. Arviragus continued to govern his kingdom peacefully and well. "*Fama igitur ejus per totam Europam divulgata, diligebant eum Romani et timebant, ita ut prae omnibus regibus sermo de eo Romae fieret*" (*ch. 16, ll. 25 ff., p. 57*).

Hol., Hist., pp. 51 ff. Arviragus made peace with Claudius on condition that he have Genissa, the daughter of Claudius, in marriage. After relating this story Holinsheh gives evidence against it. He then continues with the revolt of Arviragus, the arrival of Vespasian, and the intervention of Genissa, as in Geoffrey. But again he quotes from Latin authors evidence against the story he has just told.

Hardyng, ch. 46, p. 81.

"His brothers armis vpon hym self he cast;
 And king was then of all ye Great Britain."

Although the opening lines in Spenser's account of Arvirage seem to echo Hardyng's, the rest of the story fol-

⁶⁴ In the editions of 1508 and 1517, Genuissa.

lows Geoffrey closely. Not only is it the same in general outline, but also it shows the influence of Geoffrey in the wording of the reference to Arvirage's reputation. Both Geoffrey and Hardyng seem to have been used by Spenser.

53. He dide, and him succeeded Marius,
 Who joyd his dayes IN GREAT TRANQUILLITY.
 Then Coyll; and after him good Lucius,
 That first received Christianity,
 The sacred pledge of Christes Evangely.
 Yet true it is, that long before that day
 Hither came Joseph of Arimathy,
 Who brought with him the holy grayle, they say,
 And preacht the truth; but since it greatly did decay.

54. This good king shortly without issew dide,
 Whereof great trouble in the kingdome grew,
 That did her selfe in sondry parts divide,
 And with her powre her owne selfe overthrew,
 Whilest Romanes daily did the weake subdew:

G. of M., IV, 17-20, and V, 1-2, pp. 57 ff. Succession of kings: Marius, who overcame the Picts; Coillus; Lucius, who embraced Christianity. Lucius died without issue. Dissension followed his death, and the Roman power was weakened. When this news reached Rome, Severus was sent to subdue the country.

Hol., Hist., p. 52 f. In the time of Arviragus Joseph of Aramathia introduced Christianity and preached in England. There follows an account of the Roman Ostorius, the British Voadicia or Bunduica, and others.

pp. 66 ff. "Marius, otherwise Meurig or Maue" succeeded his father Arviragus, overcame the Picts, and continued "the residue of his life IN GREAT TRANQUILLITIE."

pp. 68 ff. A long account of Agricola's government is given.

pp. 73 ff. Coyllus, Coilus, or Coyll became king. Lu-

cius succeeded him, and was the first king to become Christian, although from the days of Joseph of Arimathea there had been men who preached the gospel among the Britains. Lucius died without issue, and dissension followed.

Hardyng, chapters 47-48, pp. 83 ff. Hardyng gives a full account of Joseph of Arimathie's coming to England with Vespasian in the time of Arviragus.

Ch. 48, p. 85.

"Ioseph conuerted this kyng Aruigarus,
By his prechyng, to knowe y^e lawe deuine,
And baptized hym, as writen hath Neninus . . ."

Ch. 49, pp. 85-86. Marius gained a victory over the Picts, to commemorate which a red cross was erected in Westmoreland.

Ch. 50, p. 88.

"Kyng Maryus kepte y^e (realme in lawe &) peace,
Full of riches and of prosperyte."

Ch. 51, p. 90.

"For cause he" (Lucius) "had no (ne) heire to kepe the lande

Through all Britayn the barons gan discorde,
Vnto the tyme that Romyans toke on hande
To chese a prince by there stedfast accorde."

Caxton, Ch. 40.

"This kyng lueye had none heyr of his body bigoten that was afterward grete harme & sorrow to the land / for after this kyng lueyes deth / none of the grete of the land wold suffre an other to be kyng, but lyved in werre / & in debate amonges hem L yere without kyng / but it befell afterward that a grete prince come fro Rome in to this land that me called Seuerie . . ."

Spenser, in his account of Marius, omitted the war with the Picts which is described by Geoffrey, Holinshed, and

all the other chroniclers. This is the more surprising as the war ended in a British victory which was commemorated by a stone in Westmoreland,— just the kind of material that should have appealed to Spenser. He may have rejected it, however, because in many accounts, such as Caxton's, the king who waged the war is called, not Marius, but Westmer, presumably as a result of Geoffrey's having said that the province of Westmoreland was named from him. Any mention of the war would have suggested to the well-informed reader this troublesome disagreement among authorities. So Spenser, keeping the name of the king as he found it in Geoffrey and Holinshed, simply used Holinshed's words, "in great tranquillity," to describe the whole of the reign, instead of its conclusion. From the phrasing we infer the use of Holinshed at this point.

In the description of the reign of Lucius the reference to Joseph of Arimathy shows again the influence of Holinshed, the only writer who speaks of him at this point, although reference to him in the reign of Arviragus is common. No where in the chronicles, however, does there seem to be mention of the grail. This Spenser apparently added from the romances. Holinshed, therefore, remains the only chronicler whose influence we can trace in Spenser's account of Marius, Coyll, and Lucius.

54, ll. 6 ff. Which seeing, stout Bunduca up arose,
And taking armes the Britons to her drew;
With whom she marched streight against her foes,
And them unwares besides the Severne did enclose.

55. There she with them a cruell batteill tryde,
Not with so good successe as shee deserv'd;
By reason that the Captaines on her syde,
Corrupted by Paulinus, from her swerv'd:
Yet, such as were through former flight preserv'd
Gathering againe, her Host she did renew,
And with fresh corage on the victor servd:

But being all defeated, save a few,
Rather then fly, or be captiv'd, her selfe she slew.

56. O famous moniment of womens prayse!
Matchable either to Semiramis,
Whom antique history so high doth rayse,
Or to Hypsiphil', or to Thomiris.
Her Host two hundred thousand numbred is:
Who, whiles good fortune favoured her might,
Triumphed oft against her enemies:
And yet, though overcome in haplesse fight,
Shee triumphed on death, in enimies despight.

G. of M. The story of Bunduca is not given.

Hol., Hist., pp. 60 ff. Voadicia (also called Bunduica, Boudicia, and Bunuica) lived in the time of Nero, successor to Claudius, and in the time of Arviragus, whose wife she may possibly have been. After she had gained several victories over the Romans she was met by Paulinus Suetonius and defeated. Then she either died or killed herself. A marginal note (*p. 64*) says that, according to Dion, Voadicia's army numbered 230,000. Her first battle was fought at Camalodunum. There was a second encounter, and then Suetonius returned from Anglesey to London. After leaving London and Verolanium he fought a battle "within straytes" (*p. 64*). This was the battle in which Voadicia was defeated.

p. 54.

"But nowe there resteth a great doubt among writers, where thys Citie or Towne called Camulodunum dyd stand of some and not without good grounde of probable coniectures, gathered vpon the aduised consideration of the circumstances of that whych in olde authors is found written of this place, it is thought to be Colchester. But verily by thys place of Tacitus it may seeme rather to be some other towne, situate more Westward than Colchester, sith a colonie of Romaine Souldiers were planted there to bee at hande, for the repressing of the vnquiet Silures, whiche by consent of most writers inhabited in South wales, or neere the Welch Marches."

p. 55. Camulodunum is said to have been certainly near the Thames.

Stow, pp. 32-33. The story of Bunducia is told vividly on the authority of Dion Cassius. Bunducia, with an army of 230,000 men, captured two cities during the absence of Paulinus. On his return she fought with him and was defeated. She died of disease. In a single paragraph there follows the account given by Tacitus, according to which Bunducia, after her defeat, poisoned herself.

Camden, *Brit., section Romani in Britannia*, pp. 37-46.

"Britanni, Bunduica regia faemina duce . . ." (p. 38). The revolt is said to have been in the time of Suetonius and Paulinus. The latter defeated Bunduica.

Spenser's treatment of the story of Bunduca deserves particular attention. In the first place, his mere inclusion of it is significant, as it is non-Galfridian material not incorporated into the mythical history of Britain until after the time of Hardyng. In the second place, Spenser is apparently independent of all his predecessors in choosing the place for inserting this foreign material, and in his method of fusing it with the rest of the narrative. And in the third place, he seems almost equally independent of his predecessors in the details of the story.

The inclusion of the material is what would naturally be expected. The story rested on good classical authority,—Tacitus and Dion Cassius. It was accepted by the best chroniclers contemporary with Spenser,—Holinshed and Stow. It was discussed by the antiquarian, Camden. It was a good story in itself, and inasmuch as it glorified a woman it was likely to appeal to Elizabeth.

The place where the story is inserted was apparently the result of careful study on Spenser's part. Holinshed and other writers who sought for historical accuracy, following the statement that Bunduca was the wife of Arviragus, introduced her story just before the reign of Marius, where,

however, it contradicted Geoffrey's narrative, according to which Marius immediately succeeded his father Arviragus, and Britain was at peace with Rome. Spenser ingeniously transferred the story to the period of civil dissension and Roman warfare following the death of Lucius, when such a leader as Boudicca might well have arisen. After describing her death he could easily return to Geoffrey's narrative with the account of Severus and Fulgenius. By this arrangement, Spenser, without falsifying those portions of Geoffrey's narrative which he kept, contrived to make his own chronicle, in spite of its extraneous material, both plausible and coherent.

The source of Spenser's account of Boudicca remains to be considered. But first we shall do well to notice its general characteristics. It is not a simple and straightforward account. Boudicca takes arms, calls the Britons to her, marches against her foes, surrounds them near the Severne, but in the ensuing battle is defeated because her captains, bribed by Paulinus, desert her. Rallying the remnant of her forces, she fights again, and is again defeated. Then she slays herself. Here, manifestly, with the fifty-fifth stanza, the story of Boudicca should end. The fifty-seventh stanza would then follow without a break, and the story as a whole would be coherent and free from contradictions. But the unnecessary fifty-sixth stanza causes trouble. Spenser begins with four lines of apostrophizing in which he compares Boudicca to famous women of ancient times. Then suddenly he drops to the level of commonplace.

"Her host two hundred thousand numbred is."

He continues with a reference to Boudicca's many victories,⁶⁵ and then vaguely repeats the fact of her death.

⁶⁵ On the other two occasions when Spenser mentions Boudicca he refers to her victories. In the *Faerie Queene*, III, 3, 54, he writes,

"The bold Boudicca; whose victorious
Exploits made Rome to quake."

The account of Bunduca in stanzas fifty-four and fifty-five gave no opportunity for these victories, as Bunduca is there described as fighting only twice and being defeated both times. The fifty-sixth stanza therefore in part contradicts and in part repeats the narrative in the preceding stanzas.

In a consideration of Spenser's sources we are justified in separating the fifty-sixth stanza from the rest of the story. Its material is sufficiently familiar. The number of Bunduca's host, 200,000, is probably based on Dion's estimate of 230,000, which is repeated by both Holinshed and Stow. All previous versions of the story, so far as we know, represent Bunduca as victorious in her early battles. And finally, the account of her death was so carefully worded that Spenser is not committed either to Dion's statement that she died of disease or to the story in Tacitus that she took poison. Spenser might have based his lines on either version. The material of the stanza as a whole might have come from any of the extant accounts of Bunduca.

With the material in stanzas fifty-four and fifty-five the case is different. Except for the form of the name, which approximates the Bunducia of Stow and the Bunduica which appears in Camden and as one of the variants in Holinshed, and for the statement that Bunduca committed suicide, Spenser's story is entirely independent of any known authority. Yet in localizing the story in the west instead of the east of England, Spenser may possibly have taken a hint from Holinshed, who suggested, on the evidence of Tacitus, that Camalodunum might not be Colchester, with which it was usually identified, but some place farther west, near Wales.

In the *Ruines of Time* (Spenser, Globe ed., p. 490) Verolame is represented as saying,

"But long ere this, Bunduca, Britonesse,
Her mightie hoast against my bulwarkes brought,
Bunduca, that victorious conqueresse,
That, lifting up her brave heroick thought
Bove womens weaknes, with the Romanes fought,
Fought, and in field against them thrice prevailed;
Yet was she foyld, when as she me assailed."

It seems probable, we may conclude, that Spenser inserted a brief version of the Bunduca story in what seemed to him the most convenient place in Geoffrey's narrative. This version, if not independent, was based on some account as yet undiscovered, although influenced, possibly, by Holinshed and Tacitus. Afterward, perhaps when revising, he realized that he had omitted all mention of Bunduca's victories and was losing an opportunity to glorify a heroine. He therefore wrote and inserted the fifty-sixth stanza, which he based on material familiar in all accounts of Bunduca. It gave him an opportunity to call the British Queen a "famous monument of womens prayse," and to make even her death a victory. Meanwhile he forgot what he had previously written or was indifferent to the repetition and the implied contradiction.

57. Her reliques Fulgent having gathered,
Fought with Severus, and him overthrew,
Yet in the chace was slaine of them that fled,
So made them victors whome he did subdew.

G. of M., V, 2, pp. 60-61. Fulgenius, with the assistance of the Picts, fought against Severus, who was killed in the battle. Fulgenius also was mortally wounded. Severus left two sons, Bassianus and Geta.

Hol., Hist., p. 78. "At length, hearing that one Fulgentius as then a leader of the Pictes was entred into the bordures of his countrey on this syde Durham, he" (Severus) "rayased an host of Britaynes and Romans, with the which he marched towards his enimies: and meeting with the said Fulgentius in a place neere vnto Yorke, in the end after sore fighte Seuerus was slayne, when he hadde ruled thys land for the space almost of fiue yeeres, as before is sayd, and was after buried at Yorke, leauing behinde him two sonnes, the one named Geta, & the other Bassianus."

Mir. for Mag., Fulgentius, st. 10-13, vol. I, pp. 322-323. The Roman force gives way. Fulgent pursues.

The Romans rally. Fulgent kills Severus, but himself receives a death-wound.

Spenser, as has been said, returns to Geoffrey's narrative with the account of the conflict between Fulgent and Severus. In a transitional phrase he makes Fulgent the successor to Bunduca, whose "reliques" Fulgent gathers. In the fight between Severus and Fulgent, Spenser introduces material not found in Geoffrey,—namely, the flight of the Romans and the death of Fulgent in pursuit. This appears to have been based on the full account of the battle in the *Mirror for Magistrates*, which gives the story of Fulgent's pursuit of the enemy and his being killed when the Romans rallied. Spenser's form of Fulgent's name also shows the influence of the *Mirror for Magistrates* or the later chronicles. The *Mirror for Magistrates* seems to have been Spenser's source.

57, l. 5 f. Then gan Carausius tirannize anew,
And gainst the Romanes bent their proper powre;

G. of M., V, 3-4, pp. 61 ff. Carausius, after the time of the sons of Fulgenius, got a fleet from the Romans to defend the coast of Britain, and then became a pirate, and finally king of the Britons. He attacked the Romans.

Hol., Hist., pp. 81 ff. Carausius, after he had vanquished and slain Bassianus, was made king by the Britons. His victory was won by the aid of the Picts, who betrayed Bassianus and came over to him. He was slain on the field of battle by Alectus.

Later Eutropius is quoted as telling the story that Carausius received charge at Bolein to keep the seas quiet about Britain, France, and Flanders. He kept the profits himself. There was a plan to punish him, so he revolted and became king of Britain.

Stow, p. 42. Carausius used the Roman fleet to make himself powerful. The Romans prepared to move against

him. He "passed out of Gaule into Brytaine, where bringing the countrey to his obeysance, he vsurped the robe of an Emperour."

At this point in the story Spenser omits Bassianus and Geta, perhaps to avoid a disproportion in the narrative as a result of his insertion of Bunduca just before. His account of their successor, Carausius, agrees with Geoffrey's.

57. ll. 7 ff. But him Allectus treacherously slew,
And tooke on him the robe of Emperoure:
Nath'lesse the same enjoyed but short happy howre:

58. For Asclepiodote him overcame,
And left inglorious on the vanquisht playne,
Without or robe or rag to hide his shame:
Then afterwards he in his stead did raigne,
But shortly was by Coyll in batteill slaine:

G. of M., V, 4-6, pp. 62 ff. Allectus, sent from Rome, killed Carausius, and "ipsoque interfecto solium regni suscepit" (*ch. 4, l. 5*). He was killed in battle by Asclepiodotus, who overcame the Romans under Gallus, and became king. Coel headed an insurrection against Asclepiodotus, killed him, and took his crown.

Hol., Hist., p. 82. Alectus was killed by Asclepiodotus, who fought the Romans, became king, and was afterward killed by Coyll or Coilus.

pp. 83 ff. Holinshed gives an oration ascribed to Mamerlinus in praise of Maximianus. In it occurs the following: The "ringleader of the vngratious faction" fled and the Romans gained the victory with the loss of scarcely a man. Among the heaps of the dead "the chiefe ringleader of the theeues was founde, who had put off those robes which in his life time he had vsurped & dishonored, so as vneth was he couered wyth one piece of apparell whereby he

might be knowen, so neare were his wordes true vttered at the houre of his death, whiche he saw at hand, that he would not haue it understoode howe he was slayn" (p. 85). A marginal note says, "Alectus founde dead. He had dispoyled himselfe of the imperiall robes, bycause he would not be knowen if he chanced to be slayne."

p. 87.

"But whether Asclepiodotus came ouer w^t that nauie which was rigged on the coasts of Flanders, or with some other, I will not presume to affirme eyther to or fro, bicause in deed Mamertinus maketh no expresse mention either of Alectus, or Asclepiodotus: but notwithstanding it is euident by that which is contained in his oration, that not Maximian, but some other of the captains gouerned y^t armie, whiche slewe Alectus, so that we may suppose that Asclepiodotus was chieftain ouer some number of ships directed by Maximinians⁶⁶ appointment to passe ouer into this yle against the same Alectus: and so may this which Mamertinus writeth, agree with the truth of that which we fynd in Eutropius."

Stow, pp. 42-43. Constantius was sent to subdue Britain. He first attacked "the Hollanders . . . and then staying for conuenient winde, hee houered a while on the Sea-coast, and in the meane time **Carausius was trayterously slaine by Alectus** his familiar friend." Constantine⁶⁷ landed and burned his ships. "Which when *Alectus* understood, hee left the shore, and prepared himselfe for battell, with his mercenary barbarous Souldiours, in which hee was slaine by *Asclepiodatus*, Lord great Master of the Emperours house. In this fight none of the Romanes perished, but heere all the field was overspred with dead bodies of the enemies, among whom lay *Alectus* himselfe without any Emperiall ornaments, and scantly knowne."

⁶⁶ This form, Maximinian, interchanges with Maximian in the edition of 1577, but is corrected to the latter form in the next edition (vol. I, *Hist. of Eng.*, p. 61).

⁶⁷ Evidently a mistake for Constantius. It occurs only once.

*Mir. for Mag., Carassus, st. 46, vol. I, p. 380.*⁶⁸

"*Alectus* then the chiefetayne of the rest,
 Spoyling my friendes, he forst me to the feelde.
 The daye was come, we both in fight were prest:
 His trustesse trayne, did seem to me to yeelde,
 But al the feeldes with great ambushmentes filde
 I coulde not flee, *Alectus* had the day,
 With his own sworde for breath he made me bray."

Spenser's account of Allectus follows the authorities later than Geoffrey in phrasing and in the statement that Allectus was found naked on the field of battle. The phrasing shows the influence of Stow, both in "treacherously slew" and in the "tooke on him the robe of Emperoure," which echoes Stow's phrase as regards Carausius, who "vsurped the robe of an Emperour." Beside Stow, there seems to be no authority for "treacherously" except possibly the line in the *Mirror for Magistrates*.

"His trustesse trayne did seem to me to yeelde."

Stow, therefore, appears to have been Spenser's source. But the account of the finding of the body of Allectus seems to have been influenced also by the oration of Mamertinus quoted by Holinshed. In this it is said that the ringleader (identified with Allectus) had put off the imperiall robes "so as vneth was he couered wyth one piece of apparell." Stow says only that among the dead bodies "lay *Alectus* himselfe, without any imperiall ornaments, and scantly knowne." Holinshed, therefore, as well as Stow, seems to have influenced Spenser in this passage.

58, ll. 6 ff. Who after long debate, since Lucies tyme,
 Was of the Britons first crownd Soveraine.
 Then gan this Realme renew her passed prime:
 He of his name Coylchester built of stone and lime.

⁶⁸ This legend is not included in the edition of 1587, but was printed in 1578 under the title, "The Seconde part of the Mirrour for Magistrates, containing the falles of the infortunate Princes of this Lande. From the Conquest of Caesar, into the comyng of Duke William the Conqueror."

59. Which when the Romanes heard, they hither sent
 Constantius, a man of mickle might,
 With whome King Coyll made an agreëment,
 And to him gave for wife his daughter bright,
 Fayre Helena, the *fairest living wight*;
 Who in all godly thewes and goodly praise
 Did far excell, but *was most famous hight*
For skil in Musicke of all in her daies,
As well in curious instruments as cunning laies.

G. of M., V, 6, p. 64. Coel, Duke of Colchester, killed Asclepiodotus in battle and became king. Constantius, who was sent to reduce Britain, made terms with Coel. Coel died soon after. "Quo defuncto insignivit se Constantius regni diademate; duxitque filiam Coel, cui nomen erat Helena. *Pulchritudo ejus provinciales puellas superabat, nec uspiam reperiebatur altera quae in musicis instrumentis sive in liberalibus artibus illa doctior censeretur*" (ll. 18 ff.).

Hol., Hist., p. 88. Coellus or Coill, earl of Colchester, king of the Britons, made peace with Constantius, and "gaue to Constantius his daughter in mariage called Helene, a noble Lady and a lerned. Shortly after king Coell dyed . . ." Holinshed doubts the truth of this story.

Flores Historiarum, I, p. 168.

"Helenam . . . virginem valde speciosam, artibusque liberalibus et instrumentis musicis ad perfectum eruditam . . ."

Ponticus Virunnius, ed. 1585, p. 35.

"Helena, pulchritudinis inauditae, nec uspiam reperiebatur altera, quae in musicis instrumentis, sive liberalibus artibus doctior illa censeretur: nam in utraque lingua excellebat, unde extant adhuc carmina quaedam Graeca, quae illius fuisse perhibentur."

Hardyng, ch. 58, p. 96.

"The duke Caire Colun (that hight) Coylus,
 Which cytee (nowe) this daye Colchester hight,
 Then crowned was, (that slewe) Asclepiadotus."

Ch. 59. Hardyng says of Helen,

"Her father Coyle set her to be excercysed,
In philosophye and other scyence clene,"

so that she should be fitted to rule the realm.

Caxton, ch. 40.

"tho regned Asclepades in qyete till one of his erles that me callyd Coill made a fayre toune ageynste the kynges wyll / and lete calle the toune colchester after his name wherfor the king was ful wroth and thought destroye therle . . ."

Ch. 45. "The kynge Coyll yaf his doughter Eleyne to Constance, for to haue hyr to his spouse that was both fayr wyse & good, & wel lettred."

Nauclerus, p. 564.

"Asclepiodoto interfecto, Coel succedit, qui Coelstriam condidit."

Chambers, Histoire abrégée, p. 22.

"Coilus septante troisieme Roy de la grande Bretagne, fils du susdit Marius estant nourry a Rome en sa ieunesse, luy donna occasion non seulement de demeurer constant en payant son tribut aux Romains: mais aussi de se porter enuers ses subiects, tant riches que pauvres, fort gratuitement, ausquels il faisoit des dons, & presens, selon la qualite d'un chacun, il feist bastir la ville de Colchester dicte de son nom, ou il est enterre."

The first part of Spenser's account of Coel differs from Geoffrey's in two points. Spenser says that Coel was the first since Lucius to be crowned king. This directly contradicts several of Geoffrey's statements, as for instance, his statement that Asclepiodotus was crowned and that Coel took his crown from him.⁶⁹ No authority for Spenser's assertion has as yet been discovered. As regards the second point in which he differs from Geoffrey, the case is dif-

⁶⁹ G. of M., V, 5-6.

ferent. For the founding of Colchester by Coel there is authority in Caxton, Nauclerus, and Chambers. Of these three Caxton is the most likely to have been Spenser's source. The first line of Spenser's account of Coel,

"Who after *long debate*, since *Lucies tyme*,"

also shows the influence of Caxton, who wrote, "for after this kyng *lucyes* deth / none of the grete of the land wold suffre another to be kyng, but lyved in werre / and in *debate* amonges hem *L yere* without kyng."⁷⁰ It is even possible that this passage suggested Spenser's statement that Coel was the first crowned sovereign since the time of Lucius. The last part of Spenser's account of Coel follows Geoffrey closely in the description of Helena, and in the reference to her skill in musical instruments gives a detail which can be found only in Geoffrey and in two chronicles which at this point repeat his story almost verbatim,—namely, the *Flores Historiarum*, and the *Sex Libri* of Ponticus Virumnus. At the same time, Spenser even here in one important point follows Caxton, Holinshed, and the other later chroniclers in preference to Geoffrey, by representing Coel as giving Helena to Constantius in marriage, although Geoffrey says that Constantius married her after the death of Coel. In his account of Coel, therefore, as so often before, Spenser seems to base his narrative on Geoffrey's, but modifies it according to the statements made by the later chroniclers, in this case apparently according to those of Caxton in particular.

60. Of whom he did great Constantine begett,
 Who afterward was Emperour of Rome,
 To which whiles absent he his mind did sett,
 Octavius here lept into his roome,
 And it usurped by unrighteous doome:
 But he his title justifide by might,

⁷⁰ Caxton, ch. 40. See p. 114, above.

Slaying Traherne, and having overcome
 The Romane legion in dreadfull fight.
So settled he his kingdome, and confirmd his right:

G. of M., V, 6-8, pp. 64 ff. Constantinus, son of Coel and Helena, freed Rome from the tyrant Maxentius, and became Emperor of Rome. Octavius, in Britain, rebelled against Rome. Constantinus sent Trahern against him. After severe fighting, Trahern was successful, but later he was slain in ambush, and Octavius recovered the throne. "*Regnum autem Britanniae ab illo tempore usque in diem Gratiani et Valentiniani feliciter obtinuit*" (*ch. 8, ll. 35 ff., p. 66.*)

Hol., Hist., pp. 90 ff. Holinshed repeats Geoffrey's story, but has additions from Roman authors. Traherne is said to have been slain by an Earl of Britain who bore good will to Octavius. The story of Helen and the cross is told.

Hardyng, ch. 63, p. 100 f. The miraculous cure of Constantyne's leprosy and St. Elin's seeking the cross are both given. After the death of Constantyne, Octavius usurped the throne.

Spenser reproduces here the narrative of Geoffrey. Although the verbal coincidence is by no means exact, the last line in particular seems to have had its source in the *Historia*.

61. But wanting yssew male, his daughter deare
 He gave in wedlocke to Maximian,
 And him with her made of his kingdome heyre,
 Who soone by meanes thereof the Empire wan,
Till murdered by the freends of Gratian.
 Then gan the Hunnes and Picts invade this land,
 During the raigne of Maximinian;
 Who dying left none heire them to withstand,
 But that they overran all parts with easy hand.

G. of M., V, 9-16, pp. 66 ff. Octavius, having no son, and but one daughter, married her to Maximianus, and made him heir to the throne. Conanus, the nephew of Octavius, who had desired the kingdom for himself, rebelled, was defeated, rebelled again, and was finally reconciled with Maximianus through the intervention of friends. Five years later Maximianus conquered Gaul, settled it with a hundred thousand of the common people of Britain, and made Conanus ruler. He then conquered Germany and made the seat of his empire at Triers. Meanwhile Conanus sent to Britain for wives for his men. Eleven thousand daughters of the nobility and sixty thousand of the women of lower rank were dispatched. They were ship-wrecked and those who escaped drowning fell into the hands of Guanius, king of the Huns, and Melga, king of the Picts, by whom they were murdered. These two kings, by command of Gratianus, were then harrying Germany. When they learned that the fighting men had been withdrawn from Britain they attacked and laid waste the island. Maximianus sent two legions who drove the enemy out. "*Interea Maximianus Romae interfectus est ab amicis Gratiani . . .*" (*l. 43 f., p. 73.*)

Hol., Hist., p. 93. "Maxentius was sonne to Hercules Maximinianus.⁷¹ Constantine had marryed Fausta the daughter of the sayde Maximinianus. Nowe so it was that Maximinianus immediately after that his son Maxentius hadde taken the rule vpon hym, sought meanes to haue deposed hym . . ." The name is given later as Hercules Maximinus.

p. 95 f. Heading of chapter, "Maximianus or rather Maximus." After the death of Octavius, Maximianus began to rule the Britons. "Finally this Maximianus, or as the Romaine histories haue, Maximus, was by the soul-dioures chosen and proclaimed Emperour here in Britayne: although some write that this was done in Spayn." The

⁷¹ In edition 1587 (vol. I, *Hist. of Eng.*, p. 64) this is corrected throughout to Maximianus. See p. 123, above.

story of the virgins is told, and the death of Maximus is thus described: "In this meane while, Maximus hauing slain the Emperour Gratian at Lyon in France, and after entring into Italye, was slain himself at Aquileia (after he had gouerned the Britons eight yeares), by the emperour Theodosius, whyche came in ayde of Valentinian, brother to the said emperor Gratian, as in the Abridgement of the histories of Italy ye may fynde recorded."

Hardyng, ch. 63, p. 104.

"Maximian the emperoure of Romayn,
When he had reigned XXXIIII yere,
By Gracyans frendes was buried,⁷² & layd on bere."

Before investigating the source of this stanza it is necessary to consider the meaning of the last four lines. Is the Maximinian of the seventh line the same as the Maximian of the second? Professor Child has suggested that Maximinian was "put by oversight for Valentinian." But this would make Valentinian the sovereign who died and left no heirs, whereas that statement seems to refer to Maximian. It is more probable that Maximinian is simply another form of Maximian, and that the line,

"During the raigne of Maximinian"

is an expansion of the "then" of the preceding line. This interpretation would agree with the facts in Geoffrey, for according to his story it was during the reign of Maximianus that the Huns and Picts invaded England, and as no heirs of this ruler are mentioned the natural inference is that he left none. The probability in favor of this explanation becomes a certainty when we note that the two forms of the name are used interchangeably in the first edition of Holinshead,⁷³ with which Spenser was undoubtedly familiar. Spenser probably without hesitation used the long form when the metre required it.

⁷² slayne.

⁷³ See pp. 123 and 129, above.

Accepting the identity of the names, we find that so much of the story as is given agrees with the *Historia*,⁷⁴ and that the line, "murdred by the freends of Gratian," repeats Geoffrey's statement. This fact is to be found also in Ponticus Virunnius⁷⁵ and in Hardyng, but not in Holinshed or in the majority of the other chronicles. Nevertheless Holinshed may be assumed to have had some influence, because of the form Maximinian. Holinshed and Geoffrey together, therefore, seem to have been Spenser's sources.

62. The weary Britons, whose *war-hable youth*
Was by Maximian lately ledd away,
 With wretched miseryes and woefull ruth,
 Were to those Pagans made an open pray,
 And daily spectacle of sad decay:
 Whome Romane warres, which now fowr hundred yeares
 And more had wasted, could no whit dismay;
 Til, by consent of Commons and of Peares,
 They crownd the second Constantine with joyous teares.

63. Who having oft in batteill vanquished
 Those spoylefull Picts, and swarming Easterlings,
 Long time in peace his realme established,
 Yet oft annoyd with sondry bordragings,
 Of neighbour Scots, and forrein Scatterlings
 With which the world did in those dayes abound:
 Which to outbarre, with painefull pyonings
 From sea to sea he heapt a mighty mound,
 Which from Alcluid to Panwelt did that border bownd.

G. of M., V, 16, and VI, 1-5, pp. 72 ff. Maximianus led the young men away. "*Abduxerat enim secum Maximianus (ut praedictum est) omnes bellicosos juvenes qui*

⁷⁴ The omission of the story of the virgins, like the omission of St. Helena's search for the cross, seems due to a desire to confine the chronicle to matters that directly concern Britain.

⁷⁵ Ed. 1585, p. 41.

reperiri potuerant: inermesque colonos atque inconsultos reliquerat" (V. 16, ll. 34 ff., p. 73). The same statement is repeated twice later (VI, 2, l. 14, p. 74, and 3, l. 23, p. 76). Gratianus Municeps usurped the crown but was so tyrannous that the common people killed him. Then the Picts and Huns returned from Ireland and brought with them the Scots, Norwegians, and Dacians. Rome was induced to send a single legion to the aid of the Britons. The Romans ordered a wall to be built from sea to sea, between Albania and Deira. This was done. Then the Romans withdrew, and the Britons, incapable of self-defence, turned for help to Aldroenus of Armorica, a descendant of Conan, and fourth king after him. Aldroenus sent his brother Constantinus, who drove out the enemy and became king. After ten years he was stabbed by a Pict who had taken service under him.

Hol., Hist., pp. 96 ff. There is a quotation from Gildas in which Maximian is said to have taken with him the youth of Britain. "From thencefoorth Britayne being depriued of all hir warlyke souldiours and armies, of hir gouernours also, though cruell, and of an huge number of hir youthe (the whiche following the steppes of the fore-sayde tyraunt, neuer retourned home agayne suche as remayned beyng vtterly vnskilfull in feats of warre, were trodden downe by two nations of beyonde the seas, the Scots from the Weast, and the Pictes from the North . . ." The soldiers elected Constantine as their emperor to succeed Gratianus. His eldest son, Constans, was a monk, but he made him "partaker with him in the empire," and sent him with an army to subdue Spain. Constantius slew Constantine, and Constans was killed by one of his own men.

The story returns to Gratian, or Gracianus. He died, and then Guanius and Melga "returned into thys lande with their armies encreased with newe supplyes of menne of warre, as Scottes, Danes, and Norwegians, and destroyed the countrey from side to syde" (p. 99). The Romans assisted the Britons. "But the Romaines beeing occasioned

to depart agayne out of the lande, appointed ye Britaynes to make a wall (as had bin made aforetime by the Emperors Adrian, Antoninus & Seuerus) ouerthwart the countrey from sea to sea, stretching from Penuelton vnto the Citie of Alclud, whereby the enimies might be stayed from entering the lande: but this wall being made of turfe and soddes, rather than with stones, after the departure of the Romanes was easily ouerthrowen by the Scottes & Pictes . . .” (*p.* 100). Then the Romans came again and built a stone wall in the place where Severus “caused his trench and rampire to be cast.”

p. 102. Constantine, brother to Aldroenus, became king thirty-nine years after the death of Gratian. The time is given on the authority of Fabian.

pp. 102–108. A digression about the Scots and Picts.

p. 108. Constantinus, brother of Aldroenus, came out of little Britain, conquered the enemy (slaying Guanius) and was crowned king “of great Britain.” He had three sons. The eldest, Constantius, he made a monk. He himself was slain by a Pict.

p. 109. “Neither the Romaine writers, nor Beda, make any mention of this Constantine, but of the other Constantine they write, which immediately after that the vsurper Gracian was dispatched out of the way (as before ye haue heard) was aduanced to the rule of this land . . .” This was about the year 415, while the brother of Aldroenus was crowned in 433.

Stow, p. 48.

“Now the Brytaines building the wall which they were bid to make, not of stones, as they were willed, but of turfe, as hauing none among them that had skill therein, made it so slender, that it serued them to little purpose. This wall they made betweene the two armes or creekes of the sea, many miles long, that where the fence of the water lacked, there by the helpe of the trench they might keepe their countrey from the breaking in of their enimies, of which piece of worke there remaineth euen vnto this day, most assured tokens yet to be seene. This trench beginneth about two

miles from the monastery of Abercuring, in a place which in the Picts language is called Pennuahill, and in the English is called Panwelt, and running out Westward, is ended by the Citty Alcluith."

p. 9. Allcuid in Albania.

Fabyan, p. 52. " This walle, as testyfyeth Policronica, was made of Turuys, and strechid, from Pemiltonne or Penultonne vnto the Cytie of Acliut or Acliud."

This passage begins with two lines which are practically a translation from Geoffrey's Latin. It continues, however, with a story that is very different from Geoffrey's. Spenser omits all mention of Gratianus Municeps and of the assistance sent to the Britons by the Romans. He hastens the accession of Constantine, and ascribes to him the building of the wall. All these changes may have resulted from the peculiarities of Holinshed's *Chronicles*, where the story of Constantine is told before the wall is mentioned. Holinshed's narrative is, at this point, so entangled with discussions about the two Constantines and so confused that Spenser may easily have misunderstood it. Or he may have felt that Holinshed's uncertainty about the facts warranted him in taking liberties with them himself. Spenser's description of the wall may have been based on Holinshed, although here the influence of Stow seems to appear in the name Panwelt. Spenser's Easterlings and "forrein Scatterlings" are evidently the same people, and correspond to the Norwegians and Dacians of Geoffrey and Holinshed. The name "Easterlings" is probably due to Holinshed.⁷⁶ Finally, Spenser's reference to the four hundred years of war with the Romans seems to come from the statement of Nennius to the effect that the Romans governed the Britons 409 years.⁷⁷ To the making of these two stanzas there went, apparently, material from Geoffrey, Nennius, Holinshed, and Stow. The result is a

⁷⁶ See pp. 97-98, above.

⁷⁷ Nennius, sect. 28: *Six Old English Chronicles*, p. 395.

narrative unlike any of the earlier ones, yet so compounded of familiar facts that the difference almost escapes detection.

64. Three sones he dying left, all under age;
 By meanes whereof their uncle Vortigere
 Usurpt the crowne during their pupillage;
 Which th' Infants tutors gathering to feare,
 Them closely into Armorick did beare:
 For dread of whom, and for those Picts annoyes,
 He sent to Germany straunge aid to reare;
 From whence eftsoones arrived here three hoyes
 Of Saxons, whom he for his safety imployes.

G. of M., VI, 6-10, pp. 78 ff. Constantinus left three sons. The eldest, Constans, was a monk, and the other two, on their father's death, were too young to rule. Vortegirinus, their uncle, had Constans crowned. Constans proved incapable, so Vortegirinus, by the aid of Picts whom he had invited into the kingdom, had Constans killed and usurped the crown. Meanwhile those who had charge of the younger sons of Constantinus fled with them into lesser Britain. The Picts, resenting the punishment of their countrymen who had been the tools of Vortegirinus, turned against him. He was also in fear of the two sons of Constantinus, who were now grown to man's estate, and were said to be about to return to demand the kingdom which rightfully belonged to them. "*Interea applicuerunt tres celoces, quas longas naves dicimus, in partes Cantiae, armatis militibus plenae, quibus duo fratres Horsus et Hengistus ducatum praestabant*" (*ch. 10, ll. 1 ff., p. 81*). These men had been chosen by lot to leave Germany because the country had become crowded.

Hol., Hist., pp. 109 ff. Constantius had been made a monk, but nevertheless was crowned and afterward killed. The story follows Geoffrey's. Then Vortigerne dissembled before the people. "Herevppon came it to passe, that when

the counsell was assembled to elect a new king, for so much as the other sonnes of king Constantine were not of age sufficient to rule, Vortigerne himselfe was chosen . . .” (*p.* 110). Holinshed says (*p.* 111) that Vortigerne sent for the Saxons, but later (*p.* 112) he refers to the other story of their coming unsummoned.

Gildas (*Six Old English Chronicles*, ed. J. A. Giles, *p.* 310). The councillors of the country, with Gurthrigen, the British king, sent for the Saxons to protect their kingdom.

Bede, II, 5 (*ed. Plummer*, I, *p.* 90).

“Hengist . . . inuitatus a Uurtigerno Brittaniam primus intrauit . . .”

Hardyng, *ch.* 67, *p.* 109.

“Engist and Horsus, dukes of great renoune;
By sort sent out all voyde of Saxonye.”

There follows the story of Thongcastre, the account of Rowena and the wassail, etc.

Mir. for Mag., *Vortigern*, *st.* 20, *vol.* I, *p.* 401.⁷⁸

“For which I sent and did obtayne a bande
Of Saxons . . .”

The story of Constans, the monk who was crowned king, Spenser has omitted, perhaps because in Geoffrey it was crowded with incidents, and in the later chroniclers became confused, was continually a subject for argument, and was often denied, either as a whole or in part. In making the omission Spenser changed the story as little as possible. He retained the statement that Constantinus left three sons, but he said that all three were under age. Presumably all three were taken by their tutors into Armorica. Later, however, we hear only of Ambrose and Uther. The third son has dropped out. No device for brevity could be simpler

⁷⁸ Omitted in ed. 1578.

or less conspicuous. Besides leaving out Constans, Spenser changed the story of the coming of the Saxons to agree with the account in Gildas and Bede, an account which was often repeated in the later chroniclers. The Saxons, instead of coming by chance, are invited by Vortigern. As Geoffrey himself represented Vortigern as asking aid of the Picts, this other story must have seemed to be in character. Caxton and Holinshed, to mention two extremes in time among the printed chronicles, accept it, although Holinshed mentions in addition Geoffrey's version. The *Mirror for Magistrates* follows the altered form. Spenser is therefore in harmony with several later authorities in this part of his story. There is no way to determine which of the possible sources he followed. It is probable, as we have noted in other cases, that he was influenced by the agreement of the chronicles.

65. Two brethren were their Capitayns, which hight
Hengist and Horsus, well approv'd in warre,
And both of them men of renowned might;
Who making vantage of their civile jarre,
And of those forreyners which came from farre,
Grew great, and got large portions of land,
That in the Realme ere long they stronger arre
Then they which sought at first their helping hand,
And Vortiger have forst the kingdome to aband.

66. But by the helpe of Vortimere his sonne,
He is againe unto his rule restord;
And Hengist, seeming sad for that was donne,
Received is to grace and new accord,
Through his faire daughters face and flattring word.
Soone after which three hundred Lords he slew
Of British blood, all sitting at his bord;
Whose dolefull moniments who list to rew,
Th' eternall marks of treason may at Stonheng vew.

G. of M., VI, 10-17, pp. 81 ff. Vortegirnus received the Saxons kindly and by their help won a victory over the Picts. He gave land to Hengistus, who used the device of the thong to increase the amount of land he was to receive. Many more Saxons came. Among the first of them was Rowen, daughter of Hengistus. Vortegirnus saw, loved, and secretly married her. Thereafter the power and the arrogance of the Saxons increased to such an extent that the Britons rebelled against Vortegirnus, and made Vortimerus, his son by an earlier marriage, king. Vortimerus succeeded in driving the heathen out. He was poisoned by Rowen, and Vortegirnus was again restored to the kingdom. Hengistus promptly returned and treacherously, at a banquet, slew 460 of the Britons. He then forced Vortegirnus to yield the chief cities of the kingdom to him. Not satisfied with this, he devastated the country far and wide. Vortegirnus fled to Cambria.

VI, 17—VIII, 1, pp. 89 ff. Vortegirnus seeks out Merlinus. The prophecy of Merlinus.

VIII, 9-12, pp. 107 ff. To mark the place “ubi consules et principes jacebant, quos nefandus Hengistus prodiderat” (*l. 18 f., p. 108*), Aurelius, assisted by the magician Merlinus, had the Giant's Dance moved from Kil-laraus, a mountain in Ireland, and set up on the mountain of Ambrius, where the dead lay.

XI, 4, p. 158. These stones are called Stanheng, and are said to be not far from Salisbury.

Hol., Hist., pp. 111 ff. The Saxons were led by two brothers, Hengist and Horsus. Vortigerne married Rowen, the daughter of Hengist, and was deposed by the Britons. His son Vortimer was made king and afterwards poisoned by Rowen. Vortigerne was restored. The Britons were slaughtered by Hengist at a meeting place on Salisbury plain, but the number of the slain is not given in this version of the story except in a marginal note in which Geoffrey is quoted as stating the number 460. “William Malmesb. wryteth somewhat otherwise of this taking of

Wortigerne . . . Hengist . . . by a colourable craft procureth his sonne in lawe Wortigerne to come to a banket to his house, wyth three hundred other Brytaynes, and when hee had made them well and warme with often quaffing and emptying of cuppes, and of purpose touched everye of them wyth one bytter taunte or other, they first fell to multiplying of malicious wordes, and after to blowes, so that the Brytaynes were slaine euery mothers sonne . . . " The king was captured (*p.* 118).

p. 116. William Malmesbury is quoted as authority for another story. "William Malmes. wryting of this Wortimer or Guortigerne . . . Guortimer, the sonne of Wortimer (sayth he) . . . setteth his full purpose to dryue them" (the Saxons) "out of the Realme, and kyndleth his father to the like attempt." After being victorious, Guortimer died.

pp. 119 ff. The Pelagian heresy.

p. 123. "Also for a perpetuall memorie of those Britaynes that were slayne on the playne of Salisburie by the treason of Hengist, he caused stones to bee fetched out of Irelande, and to be set vp in the same place where that slaughter was committed, and called the place Stonheng, whiche name continueth vnto this day."

William of Malmesbury, p. 11 f. "Vortemer filius Wortigerni, haudquaquam ultra dissimulandum ratus, quod se Britonesque suos Anglorum dolo perverti cerneret, ad expulsiōem eorum mentem intendit, simulque patrem ad idem audendum incendit . . . Interea Hengestus . . . generum ad convivium cum trecentis suorum invitat."

Hardyng, ch. 70, *p.* 116. After Aurelius Ambrose had killed Engist,

"The kyng then made a worthy sepulture,
(With y^e stone henges,) ⁷⁹ by Merlins whole aduise
For all the lordes Brytons hye ⁸⁰ nature
That there were slain in false and cruell wise,

⁷⁹ Withyn Stonehenge.

⁸⁰ of high.

By false Engest, and his feloes vnwise;
In remembraunce of his forcasten treason,
 Without cause, or (any els) encheson."

Lazamon, ed. Madden, vol. II, p. 216, l. 15306. 350
 Britons were slain by Hengist.

III, p. 357. Madden's note.

" . . . in Alfred of Beverly, in the anonymous Anglo-Norman Brut, in Robert of Brunne, and in the Welsh copies, the number is 360. Nennius reduces it to 300."

Pierre de Langtoff, p. 108. The number of Britons slain by Hengist was 340.

Chambers, Histoire abrégée, p. 56. Vortigern was taken prisoner, "& trois cens de sa noblesse presque tous tuez par la trahison de Hengistus . . ."

Spenser, in his account of Vortiger, Hengist, and Horsa, makes two changes in Geoffrey's narrative. First, he says that Vortiger was restored to his kingdom by the help of his son, Vortimer, whereas, according to Geoffrey, Vortimerus was made king instead of his father. Secondly, Spenser says that three hundred Lords were slain by Hengist, whereas Geoffrey gives the number as four hundred and sixty. Both of Spenser's statements are authorized by Holinshed, who quotes as his authority William of Malmesbury. This account of Vortimer does not occur elsewhere. But the number of the slaughtered guests is given as three hundred by Nennius and much later by Chambers, and is variously placed between three and four hundred by other writers, although Geoffrey's number is the one most commonly given. We have here, therefore, an unusual situation. Spenser's story differs from Geoffrey's, not to follow the popular story of the later chronicles, but to reproduce a rare form,—in one case, what was to him, perhaps, an unique form.⁸¹ There is a possible

⁸¹ Spenser's reasons for such a change are not obvious. He may

slight influence from Hardyng in the account of Stonehenge. Except for that Spenser's source may have been Holinshed alone.⁸²

67. By this the sonnes of Constantine, which fled,
 Ambrose and Uther, did ripe yeares attayne,
 And, here arriving, strongly challenged
 The crowne which Vortiger did long detainne:
 Who, flying from his guilt, by them was slayne;
 And Hengist eke soon brought to shamefull death.
 Thenceforth Aurelius peaceably did rayne,
 Till that through poyson stopped was his breath;
 So now entombed lies at Stoneheng by the heath.

G. of M., VIII, 1-14, pp. 101 ff. Aurelius Ambrosius and his brother arrived in Britain, invaded Cambria in pursuit of Vortegirinus, and burned him to death in the tower in which he had taken refuge. They then turned against Hengist, whom they captured and beheaded. They killed the Saxons without mercy. Finally they made a treaty with the Saxons and allowed them to settle on the borders of Scotland. Having reduced his enemies, Aurelius turned his attention to the internal affairs of his kingdom. The Saxons from Germany again invaded the country, but were driven back. They made a second invasion. Eopa, a Saxon, succeeded in poisoning Aurelius.

have preferred William of Malmesbury as an authority. He may have thought this story of Vortimere reflected more glory on the British kings. He may have found three hundred a number more convenient to poetry than four hundred and sixty.

⁸² Spenser's omission of the picturesque incidents of Thong Castle, the drinking of wassail, and Vortigern's marriage to Rowena, is the more remarkable as even the briefest redactions of Geoffrey's story are apt to reproduce these incidents at some length. Spenser must have known them. His statement that the Saxons "got large portions of land" recalls the first to those who are familiar with the story, and his reference to the "faire daughters face and flattring word" which restored Hengist to grace suggests the last. But practically all those parts of the story that throw the Saxons into heroic prominence are omitted,—probably for the very reason that they do glorify the Saxons.

Ch. 16, *p.* 113. Aurelius was buried within the Giant's Dance.

Hol., Hist., p. 122. Vortigerne was killed by Aurelius Ambrosius, who became king. Hengist was also defeated and killed. Aurelius Ambrose, according to Geoffrey, died by poison, but according to Polydore Vergil, he died of a wound received in battle.

This stanza is a very brief, but entirely accurate, summary of Geoffrey's story.

68. After him Uther, which Pendragon hight,
Succeeding —

G. of M., VIII, 17, *p.* 114. Uther Pendragon, the brother of Aurelius, assumed the throne.

There is nothing to fix the source of this reference to Uther. It may have been taken from Geoffrey or from any of his followers.

B. BOOK III, CANTO 3.

26. "The man, whom heavens have ordaynd to bee
The spouse of Britomart, is Arthegall:
He wonneth in the land of Fayerree,
Yet is no Fary borne, ne sib at all
To Elfes, but sprong of seed terrestriall,
And whylome by false Faries stolne away,
Whiles yet in infant cradle he did crall;
Ne other to himselfe is knowne this day,
But that he by an Elfe was gotten of a Fay:

27. "But sooth he is the sonne of Gorloïs,
And brother unto Cador, Cornish king;
And for his warlike feates renownmed is,
From where the day out of the sea doth spring,

Untill the closure of the Evening:
 From thence him, firmly bound with faithfull band,
 To this his native soyle thou backe shalt bring,
 Strongly to ayde his countrey to withstand
 The powre of forreine Paynims which invade thy land.

28. "Great ayd thereto his mighty puissance
 And dreaded name shall give in that sad day;
 Where also prooffe of thy prow valiaunce
 Thou then shalt make, t' increase thy lover's pray.
 Long time ye both in armes shall beare great sway,
 Till thy wombes burden thee from them do call,
 And his last fate him from thee take away;
 Too rathe cut off by practise criminall
 Of secrete foes, that him shall make in mischief fall.

G. of M., VIII, 19, pp. 115 ff. Gorlois, duke of Cornwall, had for wife Igera, with whom Uther Pendragon fell in love. By her Uther Pendragon had a son, Arthur. On the death of Gorlois he married her.

IX, 1-5, pp. 121 ff. Cador, duke of Cornwall, assisted Arthur against the Saxons.

IX, 12, l. 36 f., p. 132.

"Arthgal Cargueitensis, quae Warguit appellatur."

Hol., Hist., p. 128. Gorolus, or Gorloys, was duke of Cornwall, and had for wife Igwarne or Igera.

p. 133. Cador, duke or earl of Cornwall, helped Arthur in his wars against the Saxons and the Scots.

Brut Tysilio, trans. by Roberts, p. 172.

"For Cador was the son of Gorlais, earl of Cornwall, by Eigr, Arthur's mother, the daughter of Amlawdd the Great."

Hardyng, ch. 78, p. 137.

Both Arthegall and Cador are mentioned in the list of the knights of the Round Table.

"Arthegall therle of Warwyke (full) courageous,
 * * * * * * * * * *
 Cador, the duke that then was of Cornewayle,
 The kynges brother was (on the syster) syde,
 Dame Igrene was their mother without fayle . . ."

These three stanzas make the transition from romance to chronicle material. Arthegall, who is to be the husband of Britomart, is the son of Gorlois, and brother to Cador, king of Cornwall, who is, by inference, another of the sons of Gorlois. Arthegall, therefore, stands in the same relation to Cador that Arthur does both in Hardyng and in the *Brut Tysilio*. Arthegall, like Arthur, fights against the pagan and is

"Too rathe cut off by practise criminall
 Of secrete foes."

After a fashion, then, Arthegall takes Arthur's place in the chronicle. His name is to be found in Geoffrey's "Arthgal Cargueitensis, quae Warguit appellatur," and in Hardyng's "Arthegall therle of Warwyke," who is mentioned, as is Cador, among the knights of the Round Table. The name likewise appears in the line of British kings, where Arthgallo — called by Spenser Archigald — is represented as brother to Gorbonianus and a tyrannous ruler.⁸³ The name, therefore, Spenser may have taken from Geoffrey or from later writers, but apparently either Hardyng or the *Brut Tysilio* influenced him in his reference to Cador as a son of Gorlois.⁸⁴

The prophecy regarding Britomart in the twenty-eighth stanza may have been suggested by the story of Esclaramonde in *Huon of Burdeux*.⁸⁵

⁸³ G. of M., III, 17, p. 41.

⁸⁴ It is to be noted that Geoffrey does not make this statement even indirectly.

⁸⁵ *Huon of Burdeux*, E. E. T. S., p. 280. When Huon is planning to go to the tourney at Mayence, where he knows an attempt to kill him is to be made, Esclaramonde, his wife, after first trying to dissuade him, offers to go with him. "'I wyll be armed with shelde

29. "With thee yet shall he leave, for memory
Of his late puissaunce, his ymage dead,
That living him in all activity
To thee shall represent. He, from the head
Of his coosen Constantius, without dread
Shall take the crowne that was his fathers right,
And therewith crowne himselfe in th' others stead:
Then shall he issew forth with dreadfull might
Against his Saxon foes in bloody field to fight.

30. "Like as a Lyon that in drowsie cave
Hath long time slept, himselfe so shall he shake;
And comming forth shall spred his banner brave
Over the troubled South, that it shall make
The warlike Mertians for feare to quake:
Thrise shall he fight with them, and twise shall win;
But the third time shall fayre accordaunce make:
And, if he then with victorie can lin,
He shall his dayes with peace bring to his earthly In.

G. of M., XI, 4-5, p. 158. Conan killed Constantine, his uncle, who had succeeded Arthur, and reigned in his place. He also cast into prison another uncle, who should have succeeded Constantine, and killed his two sons. Constantine was the son of Cador, duke of Cornwall.

Hol., Hist., p. 158.⁸⁶ Constantine, son of Cador, succeeded his cousin Arthur. Modred's sons claimed the rule, but were overcome in battle. They sought refuge, one in a church in Winchester, the other in a church in London, but they were both slain by Constantine. Constantine himself

& helme & swerde by my syde, & yf I may mete duke Raoul, I shall gyue hym suche a buffet that I shall stryke hym from his horse, & I am so dyspleased with hym that there is no membre in me but that trembleth for angre. I shall neuer haue joye at my herte tyll I be reuenged of hym.' When Huon herde the duches his wyfe he was wel comforted, & began to laugh, & sayde, 'fayre ladye, I can you grete thanke for your wordes, but ye are to farre gone with chylde to ryde armed; it is a seuen monethes past syn ye were fyrst with chylde.'"

⁸⁶ Misprint for 138.

was slain by a kinsman, Aurelius Conanus. A long extract from Gildas follows. In it appear the words, "of whiche heynous and wicked offence, Constantine the tyrannicall whelpe of the Lyonesse of Deuonshire is not ignorant."

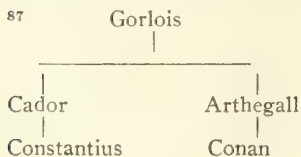
p. 139. Aurelius Conanus imprisoned his uncle, who should have been king, and killed his two sons. Gildas is again quoted. "And thou Lyons whelpe, as sayeth the prophet, Aurelius Conanus what doest thou?"

Hardyng, ch. 86, p. 150.

"He," (Aurelius Conan) "maynteyned aye ciuyle warre and debate,

Bytwene cytees, castelles, and countees,
Through al (his) realme, w^t mysruled men associate,
Whiche was greatly agaynst his royaltees,
And but thre yere, he reyned in dignitees;
As God so wolde, of his hye ordynaunce,
For wronge lawes maketh shorte gouernaunce."

Spenser does not say in so many words that on the death of Arthegall Constantine assumed the crown, but such was evidently the case, as Arthegall's son took from Constantine the "crown that was his fathers right." This son, as the father of Vortipore, is to be identified with Geoffrey's Conanus. Constantius is the same as Constantine, who according to Spenser's story would be cousin to Conan, not uncle, as in Geoffrey.⁸⁷ Consequently, Spenser's narrative up to this point proves on close examination practically to parallel Geoffrey's. From Gildas, or more probably from the quotation from Gildas in Holinshed, Spenser draws the figure of speech that compares Arthgallo's son to a lion. The main part of Spenser's story, however, appears to be



wholly original, detailed though it is.⁸⁸ No authority is known for Conan's wars with the Mertians. On the contrary, what the chroniclers say of Conan is uncomplimentary. A consciousness of this appears in Spenser's conclusion to the prophecy, which leaves the prosperous end of Conan's reign in doubt. Spenser, then, differs from the known authorities in a part of his account of Conan, but in part reproduces chronicle material, the direct source for which may have been Geoffrey and Holinshed, or Holinshed alone.

31. "His sonne, hight Vortipore, shall him succede
In kingdome, but not in felicity:
Yet shall he long time warre with happy speed,
And with great honour many batteills try;
But at the last to th' importunity
Of froward fortune shall be forst to yield:

G. of M., XI, 6, p. 159. Wortiporius succeeded Conan. He was attacked by the Saxons, but gained a victory over them, "et monarchiam totius regni adeptus, populum quatuor annis gubernavit cum diligentia et pace" (ll. 3 ff.).

Hol., Hist., p. 140 and 147.⁸⁹ Vortiporus, son of Conan, succeeded his father, vanquished the Saxons, and ruled four years. He left no issue on his death. A comment from Gildas is added. Holinshed does not believe in the relationship given by Geoffrey of Monmouth and "Matthew of Westminster." He thinks that Conan, Vortiporus, Constantius, even Cuneglasus and Maglocunus lived at the same time and governed different parts of the same kingdom.

Stow, p. 56. Of Vortiporus Stow says, "In diuers batels, he discomfited the Saxons."

⁸⁸ Spenser's changes may have been due to the fact that Merlin is prophesying to Britomart about her own son by Arthegall. This would tend to make Spenser suppress the unpleasant aspects of Conan's career.

⁸⁹ Misprint for 141.

In making Vortipore less successful than Conan and in the end unfortunate Spenser differs entirely from any known authority. He agrees with Geoffrey only in saying that Vortipore, son of Conan, for a while waged successful war. It almost seems as if Spenser had deliberately transferred the glory of Vortipore⁹⁰ to Conan out of consideration for the listening Britomart, who was naturally more concerned in her son than in her grandson.

31, ll. 7 ff. "But his sonne Malgo shall full mightily
Avenge his fathers losse with speare and shield,
And his proud foes discomfit in victorious field.

32. "Behold the man! and tell me, Britomart,
If ay more goodly creature thou didst see?
How like a Gyaunt in each manly part
Beares he himselfe with portly majestee,
That one of th' old Heroës seemes to bee!
He the *six Islands, comprovinciall*
In auncient times unto great Britainee,
Shall to the same reduce, and to him call
Their sondry kings to do their homage severall.

G. of M., XI, 7, p. 159.

"Cui successit Malgo omnium fere Britanniae pulcherri-
mus . . . Hic etiam totam insulam obtinuit, et *sex*
comprovinciales Oceani *insulas*, Hyberniam videlicet, atque
Islandiam, Godlandiam, Orcades, Norwegiam, Daciam, adjecit
dirissimis praeliis potestati suae."

*Hol., Hist., p. 147.*⁹¹ Malgo, the nephew of Aurelius
Conanus, was handsome and strong. He defended the
country against the Saxons and "subdued the out Isles, as
Orkeneye and others." Holinshed adds the account given
by Gildas, and continues with the history of the Saxon king-
doms.

⁹⁰ See Geoffrey, p. 147, above.

⁹¹ Misprint for 141.

Lazamon, ed. Madden, III, p. 153, vv. 28828-9.

"He biwun þa londes alle:
þa stoden him an honde."

Brunne, vv. 14400-1.

"He wan þe ildes ouer al aboute,
& of kynges he tok feaute."

Flores Historiarum, I, p. 278.

"Eodem anno, defuncto rege Britonum Vortiporio, successit Malgo, vir pulcherrimus, probitate praeclarus, armis robustus, et supram modum largus; . . . Hic etiam sex comprovinciales oceani insulas potenter subegit."

Polychronicon, V, p. 338. No mention of Malgo's conquests.

"Robert of Gloucester," vv. 4613-16.

". . . he wan ek to þis londe
þe six yles þat beþ aboute & heoldis al an honde.
As godlond. & orcadis. & al so yrlonde.
Norþweye & denemarch & al so god yslonde."

Hardyng, ch. 86, p. 151.

"Malgo nexte hym to the crowne attayned,
Feyrest of other that euer was in his daye,
All tyranny fully he restreyned,
(And conquered holy thryse)⁹² of Orkenay,
Irelande, Denmarke, Iselond, and eke Norway;
And (Gotlande also)⁹³ obeyed his royalte,
He was so wyse full of fortunyte.

"Within his realme was none so large ne strong,
Ne none that was in feacte of warre so wise,
With swerde or axe to fyght in the thronge,
Nor with his speare that had suche exercyse,

⁹² He conquered hole the Iles.

⁹³ Scotlande also.

For to assayle hys fooes, and them suppryse;
 And defence (also) he had (great keenyng) ⁹⁴
 As any prynce euer had (or any kyng).” ⁹⁵

Fabyan, p. 84.

“. . . he by his manhod subdued the iles of Ise-
 lande, Orchades, or Orkeys, & Norway, with other.”

Grafton, Part VII, p. 87. Malgo, “as Gaufride sayth,
 he subdued six Prouynces, that is to say, Ireland, the Isles
 of the Orcades, Gothland, Iseland, Norway, and Den-
 marke”

Stow, p. 56. No mention of Malgo's conquests.

Spenser's statement that Malgo will succeed his father and to avenge him will fight with his foes and overcome them is a natural sequence to the account of Vortipore, and like that, is without foundation in previous chronicles. There is not even authority for making Malgo the son of Vortipore. From this point on, however, Spenser, in his account of Malgo, follows Geoffrey closely. Indeed, the reference to Malgo's conquest of the “six Islands, com-
 provinciall,” is one of the strongest indications of Spenser's use of the original *Historia*. The word “comprovinciall” is rare.⁹⁶ It is not used by the English chronicles who reproduce the *Historia* material, and so far as I have found appears, outside of Geoffrey's *Historia*, only in the *Flores Historiarum*, which Spenser does not seem to have used. In this passage, therefore, Spenser was almost certainly following Geoffrey. The insistence on Malgo's personal beauty and strength may have been suggested by Hardyng. We may conclude, then, that the first part of Spenser's ac-

⁹⁴ also cunnyng.

⁹⁵ afore euer livynge.

⁹⁶ Murray's Dictionary gives only one other instance of the word “comprovincial” in this sense. “1652, Needham tr. Selden's Mare Cl. 251. King Arthur . . . recover'd six Comprovincial Isles of the Sea (which are the very words of Geofferie of Monmouth).”

count of Malgo is independent of the chronicles, and that the last part follows Geoffrey, and perhaps Hardyng.

33. "All which his sonne Careticus awhile
Shall well defend, and Saxons powre suppress;
Untill a straunger king, from unknowne soyle
Arriving, him with multitude oppresse;

G. of M., XI, 8, pp. 159-160. "Malgoni successit Careticus, amator civilium bellorum, invisus Deo et Britonibus. Cujus inconstantiam comperientes Saxones, iverunt ad Gormundum regem Africanorum in Hyberniam, in quam maximis navigiis advectus, gentem patriae subjugaverat" (*ll.* 1 ff.). Gormundus came to Britain "quam in una parte mentitae fidei Saxones, in alia vero cives patriae, civilia bella inter se assidue agentes, penitus devastabant" (*ll.* 6 ff.). Gormundus made war on Careticus and after many battles drove him to Cirencester, and then to Wales.

Hol., Hist., p. 143. Careticus (or Caretius) was forced into Wales by the Saxons, who "seassed not to pursue the Britons by force and continuall warre, till they had constrained them for refuge to withdraw into Wales. And as some have written, the Saxons meanyng to make a full conquest of the lande, sent ouer into Ireland, requiring one Gurmundus a kyng of the Affricanes to come ouer into Britayne to healpe them agaynste the Brytaynes."

The first two lines of this stanza contain two statements for which Spenser apparently had no authority. Careticus was not the son of Malgo, and he did not conquer the Saxons. The account of the coming of the "straunger king," however, agrees with Geoffrey's. At the same time, the fact that this king comes, not from Africa, but from "unknowne soyle," shows the influence of the doubt expressed at length by Holinshed, and more briefly by Camden.⁹⁷

⁹⁷ See p. 153, below.

Spenser's story is therefore in part independent and in part influenced by Holinshed, or perhaps Camden.

33, ll. 5 ff. "Great Gormond, having with huge mightinesse

Ireland subdewd, and therein fixt his throne,
Like a swift Otter, fell through emptinesse,
Shall overswim the sea, with many one
Of his Norveyses, to assist the Britons fone.

34. "He in his furie all shall overronne,
And *holy Church* with faithlesse handes deface,
That thy sad people, utterly fordonne,
Shall to the utmost mountaines fly apace.
Was never so great waste in any place,
Nor so fowle outrage doen by living men;
For all thy Citties they shall sacke and race,
And the greene grasse that groweth they shall bren,
That even the wilde beast shall dy in starved den.

G. of M., XI, 8, pp. 159-160. Gormundus, king of the Africans, arrived in Ireland with a great fleet and subdued the country. Summoned by the Saxons in England, he aided them against Careticus, who was driven into Wales. "*Mox depopulans agros, ignem cumulavit in finitimas quasque civitates: qui non quievit accensus, donec cunctam pene superficiem insulae a mari usque ad mare exussit; ita ut cunctae coloniae crebris arietibus, omnesque coloni cum sacerdotibus ecclesiarum, mucronibus undique micantibus, ac flammis crepitantibus, simul humi strenerentur*" (ll. 17 ff.).

Hol., Hist., pp. 144 ff. The story follows Geoffrey, but does not dwell on the devastation of the country. "After this, the foresayd Gurmonde destroyed thys lande throughout in pitifull wyse, and then deliuered it in possession to the Saxons, the whiche thankfully receiued it."

Hist. of Ireland, p. 14.

"Gurmundus, a notable rouer of the Norwegians . . ."

p. 16.

". . . no doubt the same Gurmonde was some Kyng of the Danes, or Norweygians, and not of the Affricanes (as some of our coutreymen name hym). Which error is soone committed, in takyng one Heathenish nation for an other, as those haue doone that haue named the Hungarians (when they inuaded Gallia before they were Christians) Sarazins. And so lykewyse might that authour (who so euer he was) whom Geffrey of Monmouth foloweth, fyndyng Gurmonde written to be a kyng of the myscreantes, mistake the Norwegians for Affricanes, bicause both those nations were Infidels: and therefore sith haply the Affricanes in the dayes when that Author liued, bare all the brute aboue other Heathenish nations then, as the Turkes do now, he named them Africanes."

Camd., Brit., p. 281. " . . . a Gurmundo, nescio quo tyranno Africano. . . . Quis fuit hic Gurmundus plane ignoro." Camden tries to identify him with one Guthrus or Gurmundus, a Dane, about the year 879.

In speaking of Gormond's "Norveyses" Spenser shows even more clearly than in stanza thirty-three that he rejects Geoffrey's statement that Gurmond was king of the Africans. He seems in this to have been influenced chiefly by the *History of Ireland* in Holinshed's *Chronicles*, where Gurmond is called "Kyng of the Danes, or Norweygians." The rest of the story follows Geoffrey closely, particularly in the account of the devastation of Britain, the details of which, so far as we know, Spenser could have found only in the *Historia*. Spenser's source, then, seems to have been both Geoffrey and Holinshed.

35. "Whiles thus thy Britons doe in languour pine,
Proud Etheldred shall from the North arise,
Serving th' ambitious will of Augustine,

And, passing Dee, with hardy enterprise,
 Shall backe repulse the valiaunt Brockwell twice,
 And Bangor with massacred Martyrs fill,
 But the third time shall rew his foolhardise:
 For Cadwan, pittying his peoples ill,
 Shall stoutly him defeat, and thousand Saxons kill.

G. of M., XI, 12-13, pp. 161-162. Ethelfridus, king of the Northumbrians, was induced by Ethelbertus, king of Kent, to attack the Britons because of their refusal to accept the authority of Augustine, who had come to preach to the Angles. Ethelfridus defeated Brocmail near Legecestria, captured the city, and put to death 200 monks from Bangor. He then marched towards Bangor, but was put to flight by the Britons and lost ten thousand and sixty-six men. Among the leaders of the Britons which are mentioned is Caduanus, but their commander was Blederic, duke of Cornwall.

Hol., Hist., pp. 153 ff. Edelferd, Edelfride, or Ethelferd, king of the Northumbrians, defeated Edan, king of the Scots. Later he attacked the Britons under Brocmale (or Broemael) near Chester, and killed about 1200 monks from Bangor. Brocmale fled in cowardly fashion. This was after the death of Augustine, and the quarrel was not because of him. "Of which battaile also William Harison telleth another maner of tale, whose wordes though he liue in our time and his Chronologie bee not yet extant are not to be omitted⁹⁸ . . . Athelbright, or Edilfride, king of the Northumbers, and Ethelbert of Kent, hauing Augustine in their copanie, in the .8. yeare after his arriuall, doe make warre . . . and kill 1200. Monkes of the Monasterie of Bangor . . ." From Chester Edel-ferd marched towards Bangor. The Britons were assem-

⁹⁸ For this sentence was substituted in the second edition the following:—"A late chronographer running vpon this matter, and preciselie setting downe his collection, saith that . . ." A marginal note reads, "W. Harison" (*I. Hist. of Eng.*, p. 104).

bled under three captains, of whom Cadwane, king of Northwales, was one. They defeated Edelferd. Bede, however, makes no mention of this battle.

p. 156. According to Holinshed Britain was without any special governor twenty-four years, but he quotes Harison as saying that Cadwan succeeded Careticus immediately on the death of the latter.

Descr. of Br., p. 64.

"Their abbaye of Bangor stooode sometime in Englishe Maylor, by hyther and south of the riuer Dee. It is nowe ploughed ground where that house stooode, by the space of a Welch myle (which reacheth vnto a mile and an halfe Englishe) and to thys daye the tillers of the soyle there, doe plowe vp bones as they saye of those monks that were slaine in the quarell of Augustine . . ."

Brut Tysilio, trans. by Roberts, p. 178 f. The name of the British chieftain is given as Brochwel, and the monks are said to have been killed at Bangor.

Hardyng, ch. 90, *p.* 160.

"This kyng Cadwan at Wynchester crownd, .
Was made y^e kyng of Britayne & Britons,
Agayn whom kyng Ethelfrede y^e stound,
Warred full sore all the regions
Where Brytons were, so did he all religions;
Who Westchester sieged with violence,
Wher Brochewall therle made greate defence.

"But there he slewe Brochewall in batayll,
And gatte the towne of Westchester (in) that tyde,
Where XII. C. monkes, without fayle,
He slew downe right, a lytle there besyde,
That came to praye for peace without pride,
Fro Banger there in hole procession,
That martens wer there by his oppression."

Afterwards Cadwan met Ethelfrede and made peace with him.

Descr. of Cambria, by Sir John Price, augmented by Humphry Lloyd, p. XIV f. There is a reference to

"Brochwel called Brecyfal (as the English chronicle saith) for this Brochwel called Yfgithroc, that is, long toothed, was chosen leader of such as met with Adelred alias Ethelbertus rex Cantiae, and other Angles and Saxons, whom Augustine had moved to make war against the christian Britains, and these put **Brochwel twice to flight**, not far from Chester, and cruelly slew 1000 priests and monks of Bangor, with a great number of lay-brethren of the same house . . .

"Then this Brochwell retired over Dee, hard by Bangor, and defended the Saxons the passage, till Cadfan King of North Wales . . . came to succour him, and gave the Saxons a sore battle."

The Brevariary of Britaync, Written by Humfrey Lhuyd,⁹⁹ Englished by Thomas Twyne, 1573, Fol. 71.

"He" (Augustine the Monk) "so stirred the hate of the Englishmen against them" (the 2100 monks of "Banchor") "that shortly after . . . by Ethelfred . . . the Monks which desired peace were most cruelly slaine. And afterward the Britaynes, under the conduct of Brochwell kyng of Powys, were vanquished. Until that at length, being ayded with power from Belthrusius, Duke of Cornwall, Cadwane, kyng of Northwales, Meredoc, kyng of Southwales, and hartned forward by the oration of their most learned Abbot Ounetus, who commanded . . . that everyone should kisse the ground, in remembrance of the Communion of the Body of our Lord, and should take up water in their hands forth of the River Dee and drink it, in commemoration of the most sacred Blood of Christ . . . who, having so communicated they overcame the Saxons in a famous battle and slew of them, as Huntingdon writeth, 1066 and created Caruanus their kyng in the citie of Legions."

Grafton's Abridgment, ed. 1572, p. 19, 548 A. D.

"In thys time . . . one Ethelfride, (who was the VIII king of the Saxons that then reigned in this land, for . . . there reigned at one time in this land XXIII kyngs . . .) had a great battle beside Chester: and at that

⁹⁹ Lloyd, Lhuyd and Llwyd are different spellings of the same name.

time there were together in an abbey called Bangor 2200 monks, praying unto God to aid the Britons against the Saxons, which Monkes (after Ethelfride had obtained the victory of the Battail) hee slewe, sayng 50 that hardly escaped." *Polichronicon*.

p. 20, 589, A. D.

"In Briteyne Ethelfridus (or as some write Etheldredus) governed the North Saxons, who made such continual war upon the Britons that it is thought he slew more of them than all the other Saxon kings."

Grafton, Chronicle, p. 86. A leader of the Bangor monks at Chester was Bruciual.

Stow, p. 56. "Cadwane, Duke of Northwales, was made Soueraigne of the Brytaines, who gaue strong battel to *Ethelfride*, king of Northumberland, and forced him to intreat for peace: After which concord being made, they continued all their lifetime louing friends. Hee raigned 22 yeeres."

In this stanza Spenser's story differs from Geoffrey's in several particulars. Spenser writes, not of Ethelfridus, but of Etheldred, and so uses a form of the name which Grafton says "some write."¹ Instead of Brocmail Spenser writes Brockwell, a form that may have come from the Brocwel of the *Brut Tysilio*, the Brochewall of Hardyng, or the Brochwell (also Brochewel and Brochwel) of Llwyd in both the *Description of Cambria* and the *Breviary of Britayne*.² Spenser says that the massacre of the monks shall take place at Bangor, not at Legecestria, and so agrees with the local tradition mentioned in Holinshed's *Description of Britain*, with what Grafton seems to say in the Abridgment,³ and with what the *Brut Tysilio* actually does

¹ In spite of the discrepancy in the dates which Grafton gives, this Ethelfridus (or Etheldredus) seems to be the same king of Northumberland who warred against Brockwell.

² Cf. also Brochiual in Latham's *Brut* (III, p. 196, l. 29, 830), Brochiuail in Robert Manning of Brunne (I, l. 15, 364), and Bruciual in Grafton's *Chronicle* (p. 86).

³ The form of Grafton's story suggests that he was following the usual version, and introduced the variation through carelessness of expression or inaccurate condensation.

say. Spenser writes that Etheldred shall twice defeat Brockwell, but in the third encounter shall be defeated by Cadwan, a statement which is to be found in the *Description of Cambria*. In this last battle Cadwan shall "thousand Saxons kill." So, in the *Breviary of Britayne*, on the authority of Huntingdon, the number is given as 1066. Finally Spenser speaks of Cadwan as the leader and ruler of the Britons, not merely as one among several leaders. In this he may have followed Hardyng or Stow. There is authority, then, for each of Spenser's variations from Geoffrey, but no one author, as may be seen at a glance, gives more than two. Unless some other possible source be found, we must assume that Spenser used at least Grafton's *Abridgment*, the *Description of Cambria*, the *Breviary of Britayne*, and Hardyng's *Chronicle* or Stow's *Annales*. Furthermore, for the massacre at Bangor, the most satisfactory source would be the *Brut Tysilio*, because of the directness of the statement made there. It is possible that Spenser had access to Welsh sources of information,⁴ and so knew the *Brut Tysilio*, or some similar chronicle. Certainly in this stanza he modifies Geoffrey's story to agree with Welsh versions of it.

36. " But after him, Cadwallin mightily
 On his sonne Edwin all those wrongs shall wreake;
 Ne shall availe the wicked sorcery
 Of false Pellite his purposes to breake,
 But him shall slay, and on a gallowes bleak
 Shall give th' enchaunter his unhappy hire.
 Then shall the Britons, late dismayd and weake,
 From their long vassalage gin to respire,
 And on their Paynim foes avenge their ranckled ire.

37. " Ne shall he yet his wrath so mitigate,
 Till both the sonnes of Edwin he have slayne,
 Offricke and Osricke, twinnes unfortunate,

⁴ Cf. the Welsh words, F. Q., II, 10, 24.

Both slaine in battaile upon Layburne playne,
 Together with the king of Louthiane,
 Hight Adin, and the king of Orkeny,
 Both joynt partakers of their fatall payne:
 But Penda, fearefull of like desteny,
 Shall yield him selfe his liegeman, and sweare fealty.

38. " Him shall he make his fatall Instrument
 T' afflict the other Saxons unsubdewd;
 He marching forth with fury insolent
 Against the good king Oswald, who indewd
 With heavenly powre, and by Angels reskewd,
 Al holding crosses in their hands on hye,
 Shall him defeate withouten blood imbrewd:
 Of which that field, for endlesse memory,
 Shall Hevenfield be cald to all posterity.

39. " Whereat Cadwallin wroth shall forth issew,
 And an huge hoste into Northumber lead,
 With which he godly Oswald shall subdew,
 And crowne with martiredome his sacred head:
 Whose brother Oswin, daunted with like dread,
 With price of silver shall his kingdome buy;
 And Penda, seeking him adowne to tread,
 Shall tread adowne, and doe him fowly dye;
 But shall with guifts his lord Cadwallin pacify.

G. of M., XII, 1-13, pp. 163 ff. Caduallo, son of Caduanus, and Edwinus, son of Ethelfridus, shared the kingdom between them, as their fathers had done. Caduallo alone wore a crown. He refused his permission when Edwinus wished to be crowned also. In the war that followed Caduallo was defeated and forced to flee from Britain. His return was prevented by the arts of the magician Pellitus. But Pellitus was killed by Brianus, who in disguise approached him in York and thrust him through with an iron-tipped spear. Caduallo then returned. He

overcame Peanda, king of the Mercians, who was in command of the Saxon force. Peanda became his ally, and they marched against Edwinus. Edwinus was killed in battle at Hevenfeld, together with Offridus his son, and Godboldus, king of the Orkneys (Orcadun). Caduallo then attempted to extirpate the Saxon race. Among those whom he killed were Osricus, Edwin's successor, and his two nephews, who should have reigned after him, and Adanus, king of the Scots. Oswaldus then became king of Northumbria. At Hevenfeld Oswaldus set up a cross and commanded his men to pray. By their faith they gained a victory over Peanda, but afterward Caduallo led an army to the north and Oswaldus was defeated at Burne and killed. Oswius, his brother, made large presents of gold and silver to Caduallo, and was allowed to succeed Oswaldus. Peanda was permitted to attack him, but was himself killed. Peace was made by command of Caduallo.

Hol., Hist., pp. 163 ff. While the kingdom of Northumberland flourished under Edwin, "Cadwalline, or Cadwallo King of Brytaynes, who succeeded Cadwane,"⁵ rebelled against him. Penda, king of Mercia, instigated the rebellion and assisted in it. In a battle at Hatfield Edwin and one of his sons, Osfrid, were slain, and their army was defeated. Another son, Edfride, surrendered to Penda and was put to death. Cadwallo and Penda used their power cruelly. After a while Oswalde became king of the Northumbrians. He fought with Cadwallo at "Heuenfield," where before the battle he ordered a cross erected. He put the enemy to flight and followed them to Denisseborne, where Cadwallo was slain. But according to Geoffrey, the next paragraph continues, Cadwallo was not slain at all.

pp. 165 ff. Cadwallo or Cadwalline's reign is described practically as in Geoffrey of Monmouth.⁶ In the battle of

⁵ This is not the beginning of a separate section.

⁶ Here, as usually at the beginning of a reign, there is a portrait, a heading, and heavy type in the margin.

Hatfield Edwin, Osfride, and Godbolde, the king of the Isles of Orkney, were slain. Penda was overthrown at Heauenfelde by Oswald, but the story of the cross is not given. Cadwallo himself pursued Oswald and killed him at Bourne. Osunus succeeded Oswald. Penda, by permission, warred against him, although Osunus, "by great gyftes of golde and siluer" had obtained peace. Penda was slain. The account concludes as follows: ". . . but diuers men thinke that much of that Hystorie is but fables, bycause of the dissonance found therein so manifestly varying both from Beda and other autentike wryters (as before I haue sayde.)" ⁷

p. 170. Oswy succeeded his brother Oswalde as king of Northumberland.

Lazamon, ed. Madden, III, p. 255, ll. 31,244-6.

"per wes Edwine of-slagen
And his sunen tweien.
per feollen seouen kinges."

Osric, the youngest son, is mentioned later.

Stow, p. 56. "Cadwallin, the sonne of Cadwane." *Mir. for Mag., I, p. 420.* Cadwalline. *Grafton, p. 95,* Cadwallyn.

These four stanzas follow the general outline of Geoffrey's narrative. The only variations which show the influence of later chroniclers are the forms of the names Cadwallin and Penda. For the other variations no authority is known. Pellite receives "his unhappy hire" on "a galloves bleak" apparently because of Spenser's predilection for hanging.⁸ To the list of those slain in the battle between Edwin and Cadwallin are added the names of those killed afterward — a change, it may be, for brevity. The description of the battle of Heavenfield, in which Oswald was victorious, introduces bands of angels with crosses in

⁷ p. 167.

⁸ See note, p. 84, above.

their hands — creations, perhaps, of the poet's fancy, based on the story of the cross that Oswald erected on the battlefield. Two points, however, suggest that Spenser may have had authority for at least some of his changes. The first point is the name Laybourne Plain, which Spenser gives to Geoffrey's first battle at Hevenfeld, called by the later chroniclers Hatfield. Even if we assume that Spenser by mistake used the name of the battle in which Oswald was killed — a supposition which gains some probability from Spenser's omission of the name later — we must still account for the change from Burne to Laybourne Plain, and admit that it is such a change as we have not found before except when Spenser has been following some definite source. The second point is this: although we may explain the combination of two lists of the slain as the result of condensation, a similar combination had already been made by Layamon, whose mention of Edwin's "sunen tweien" among the slain is specially noteworthy as a parallel to Spenser's "twinnes unfortunate." If there existed a source that preserved the Lazamon form of the story, it might account for the change of the name Offridus to Offricke,— a change which was clearly made for the sake of agreement with Osricke — and for other changes. We must conclude, then, that while the general outline of Spenser's story is sufficiently close to Geoffrey's to warrant a belief that Spenser was following Geoffrey, Spenser varied the narrative, in part, perhaps, through the necessity of condensation, but also in part through the probable influence of some source now unknown, and certainly, in the forms Cadwallin and Penda, through the influence of Holinshed or some other of the later chroniclers.

40. "Then shall Cadwallin die; and then the raine
 Of Britons eke with him attonce shall dye;
 Ne shall the good Cadwallader, with paine
 Or powre, be hable it to remedy,

When the full time, prefixt by destiny,
 Shal be expird of Britons regiment:
 For heven it selfe shall their successe envy,
 And them with plagues and murrins pestilent
 Consume, till all their warlike puissaunce be spent.

41. " Yet after all these sorrowes, and huge hills
 Of dying people, during eight yeares space,
 Cadwallader, not yielding to his ills,
 From Armoricke, where long in wretched cace
 He liv'd, retourning to his native place,
 Shal be by vision staide from his intent:
 For th' heavens have decreëd to displace
 The Britons for their sinnes dew punishment,
 And to the Saxons over-give their government."

G. of M., XII, 14-18, pp. 173 ff. Caduallo was succeeded by his son Cadwalladrus, who ruled in peace for twelve years. He then fell sick, and civil war broke out. At the same time came famine, followed by pestilence, which broke down the power of the Britons so that they were forced to flee beyond the seas. Cadwalladrus broke into lamentation on his departure, and ascribed the woes of the Britons to the anger of God, whom they had provoked by their impieties. Cadwalladrus took refuge in Armorica, and the Saxons had supreme rule over all Britain. "*Ab illo tempore Britonum potestas in insula cessavit: et Angli regnare coeperunt*" (*ch. 16, ll. 17-18, p. 174*). In course of time Cadwalladrus wished to recover his kingdom, but the loud voice of an angel commanded him to give up his enterprise, because God was not willing that the Britons should reign any longer in Britain. He was also commanded to make a pilgrimage to Rome. He did so, and in Rome he died.

Hol., Hist., p. 183. After a number of pages on Saxon affairs, Holinshed gives a brief account of Cadwallader according to Geoffrey, but he considers the story a mistake

due to a confusion with Ceadwalla, king of the West Saxons, who did go to Rome and died there.

Nennius, section 45., Six Old English Chronicles, p. 405. "And let him that reads understand that the Saxons were victorious, and ruled Britain, not from their superior prowess, but on account of the great sins of the Britons: God so permitting it."

It is difficult to determine what Spenser meant by saying that with Cadwallin "the raine of Britons" died. Apparently, either by accident or intention, the twelve years of peace with which Cadwallader's reign opened are overlooked, and so the power of the Britons is said to have ended with Cadwallader's predecessor, although he was not the last of the British kings. In other respects Spenser's story is a summary of Geoffrey's. The moralizing of the last three lines may owe something to Nennius, but more probably was developed from Geoffrey's statement that God was not willing that the Britons should reign any longer in Britain.

52, ll. 5 ff. "Ye see that good King Uther now doth make

Strong warre upon the Paynim brethren, hight
Octa and Oza, whome hee lately brake
Beside Cayr Verolame in victorious fight,
That now all Britany doth burne in armes bright."

G. of M., VIII, 18, pp. 114-115. Octa, the son of Hengist, and Eosa his kinsman, were captured by King Uther in a battle on Mount Damen.

21-23, pp. 118 ff. Octa and Eosa escaped. They gathered a force against Uther and were besieged at Verulamius, where they were defeated and killed.

24, pp. 120-121. The Saxons continued their attacks throughout the kingdom.

Hol., Hist., p. 128. Occa or Oca and Ossa were slain

in battle by Uter "at Saint Albanes (as some write)." Holinshed also gives an account based on Gildas, according to which Occa and Osca are slain at Badon Hill.

The account of Octa and Oza follows Geoffrey. The name Oza shows a variation not accounted for by the later chroniclers.

55. "And, that which more then all the rest may sway,
Late dayes ensample, which these eyes beheld:
In the last field before Menevia,
Which Uther with those forrein Pagans held,
I saw a Saxon Virgin, the which feld
Great Ulfin thrise upon the bloody playne;
And, had not Carados her hand withheld
From rash revenge, she had him surely slayne;
Yet Carados himselfe from her escapt with payne."

56. "Ah! read," (quoth Britomart) "how is she hight?"
"Fayre Angela," (quoth she) "men do her call,
No whit lesse fayre then terrible in fight:
She hath the leading of a Martiall
And mightie people, dreaded more then all
The other Saxons, which doe, for her sake
And love, themselves of her name *Angles* call.
Therefore, faire Infant, her ensample make
Unto thy selfe, and equall corage to thee take."

58, ll. 5 ff. . . . a great pray
Of Saxon goods; emongst the which was seene
A goodly Armour, and full rich aray,
Which long'd to Angela, the Saxon Queene,
All fretted round with gold, and goodly wel beseene.

G. of M., VIII, 16, pp. 113-4. Pascentius and Gillo-
manius, leaders of the Saxons, were killed by Uther in bat-
tle near Menevia. Aurelius Ambrosius had recently died.

Hol., Descr. of Brit., p. 2a. The story of Angela is denied. Ecbert, about the year 800, named the country "after the name of his Countreie from whence his originall came, neyther Hengist, neyther any Queene named Angla"

Bartholomew, De Proprietatibus rerum, Bk. 15, ch. 14.

"And longe tyme after y^e Saxons wanne the ylonde with many & diuers harde batayles & stronge & theyr ofsprynge had possessyon after them of y^e ylonde"

"And therefore they clepyd the ylonde Anglia by y^e name of Engelia y^e quene, the northyest duke of Saxons doughter y^t had y^e ylonde in possessyon after many batayles."

Robert Manning of Brunne, ll. 7533-6.

"Bot þis lewed men sey & synge,
& telle þat hit was mayden Inge.
Wryten of Inge, no clerk may kenne,
Bot of Hengiste doughter Ronewenne."

After giving an account of king Engle, Robert Manning of Brunne continues (ll. 14,835-8) :

"But of Ynge saw y neuere nought,
Neyþer in bokewrite ne wrought;
But lewed men þer-of speke & crye,
& meyntene al-wey vp þat lye."

Higden, Policronicon, Rolls Series, II, p. 4.

"Deinde a Saxonibus sive Anglis . . . vocata est Anglia; sive ab Angela regina, clarissimi ducis Saxonum filia, quae post multa tempora eam possedit."

Robert of Gloucester, ed. Hearne, II, Glossary, pp. 731-733. Hearne printed a fragment of a chronicle found written on vellum and thought to be by John Stow. It was reprinted by Warton, *Eng. Poetry*, II, pp. 100-102. It includes the following lines:

"In that tyme wetep welle,
 Cam ferst wassayle & drynke hayl
 In to this londe, with owte wene,
 Þurghe a mayde brygh and schene,
 Sche was cleput mayde ynge,
 For hur many doth rede & synge
 Lodyngys gent & free.

"This lond hath y hadde namys thre.
 Ferst hit was cleput Albyon,
 And syth for Brute Bretayne a non.
 And now ynglond clepyd hit ys,
 Aftir mayde ynge y wysse.
 Thilke ynge, fro Saxone was come."

The identification of Ynge with Rowena is evident.

Caxton, Descr. of Eng., ch. 1.

"Thenne Saxons or Englisshmen conquered this lond and called it Anglia that is Englond / Or it is called Anglia of a quene that owid this lande that was named Angela and was a noble dukes doughter of the Saxons/

Liber de Hyda, p. 4.

"Et postmodum in ipsam terram Saxonibus applicantibus ac regnantibus, sive ab Angela regina, clarissimi ducis Saxonum filia, vocata est Anglia . . ."

A Short English Chronicle, ed. by J. Gairdner in Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles, pp. 10-11. England is said to have been named by Engest. Then, after an interval, with no apparent feeling of contradiction, England is said to have been named in Uter's time for Ingerne, his wife, the mother of Arthur.

Grafton's Chronicle, p. 28.

"But after this, as in this story shall apere, this Realme was conquered and brought in subiection to Straungers dyuers and sundrie tymes, as first after Brute to the Romaynes, then to the Saxons which conquered this land, & called it *Anglia* (as saith *Polichronicon*) eyther of Angli, that is to say.

people of Saxony, or of the name of a Queene of this lande that was called *Angela*."

Camd., Br., p. 68.

"Facessat Angulus filius Humbli, & Angela regina, quos nostrae gentis fuisse conditores, blaterant inepti."

For the battle of Menevia, in which Uther fought against the Saxons, Spenser could have found authority in Geoffrey. The rest of the passage recounts the story of the Saxon virgin Angela,⁹ whose people, the Angles, were named after her. The story itself, with its interesting reference to Carados, I have failed to find. But the maiden Angela is evidently the Saxon Queen Angela, for whom England was named.¹⁰ To this Angela reference is frequently made. Sometimes, as in Holinshed, the story about her is denied. More frequently it is presented as an alternative with some other account of the naming of England. Bartholomew, Caxton, and Grafton give the most vivid and definite versions of her story, and any one of them may have furnished the foundation on which Spenser built his superstructure of imagination. Yet the story may not have been wholly due to Spenser's imagination. We cannot be sure that he did not know some version of the story of Angela more detailed than any which is now known.

C. BOOK III, CANTO 9.

Stanzas 41-43 of this canto give an account of the adventures of Æneas. They include details not to be found in

⁹ "This Saxon virgin is, I believe, entirely of Spenser's own feigning." Upton, quoted by Professor Child, in his edition of Spenser, II, p. 230.

¹⁰ Geoffrey told at length the story of the Saxon maiden Rowena. This, in the fragment of a chronicle printed by Hearne (see pp. 166-7, above), was transferred to "maid ynge," eponymous heroine of England. Robert Manning of Brunne knew the story in this form, but declared that it was false (see p. 166, above). It seems possible that the story of the eponymous Angela, or, as Bartholomew calls her, Engelia, may be connected with this Rowena-Ynge story.

Geoffrey, and apparently are not based on the brief lines in the *Historia* I, 3, though perhaps suggested by them.

48. "For that same Brute, whom much he ¹¹ did aduance
In all his speach, was Syluius his sonne,
Whom having slain through luckles arrowes glaunce,
He fled for feare of that he had misdonne,
Or els for shame, so fowle reproch to shonne,
And with him ledd to sea an youthly trayne;
Where wearie wandring they long time did wonne,
And many fortunes prov'd in th' Ocean mayne,
And great adventures found, that now were long to sayne.

G. of M., I, 3. Brutus was the son of Silvius. When he was fifteen years old ". . . comitabatur juvenis patrem in venando, ipsumque inopino ictu sagittae interfecit" (*p. 5, l. 18 f.*). Banished from Italy, Brutus went to Greece.

Chapters 4-10. Adventures of Brutus in Greece.

Chapters 11-15. Brutus, with 324 ships, sailed from Greece. After many adventures he landed in Albion.

Hol., Hist., p. 9.

"This Brute (as the author of the Book (which Geffrey of Monmouth translated) doth affirme, was the sonne of Siluius, the sonne of Ascanius that was sonne of Aeneas the Troian, begotten of his wyfe Creusa, and borne in Troye, before the Citie was destroyed."

p. 7 (reverse of *p. 9*, misnumbered).

"Concerning therfore our Brute, whether his father Julius was sonne to Ascanius, the sonne of Aeneas by his wyfe Creusa, or sonne to Posthumus, called also Ascanius, and sonne to Aeneas by his wyfe Lauinia, wee will not further stande. But this we fynde, that when he came to the age of .XV. yeares, . . . he fortun'd eyther by mishap, or by gods providence, to strike his father with an arrowe, in

¹¹ *I. e., Mnemon.*

shooting at a deere, of which wounde he also dyed. His grandfather . . . hearing of this greate misaduenture that had chaunced to his sonne Siluius, liued not long after, but deceased of very grieve and sorrow (as is to be supposed) which he conceyued therof . . .”

Brutus went to Greece and from there, after various adventures, to Albion.

Spenser's story is based on Geoffrey's, but condenses several chapters into a few lines. The "youthly trayne" that accompanied Brutus from Italy seems to be of Spenser's invention. It probably results from the necessity of furnishing Brutus with a company of men to settle Albion. According to Geoffrey, these men were found in Greece. But Spenser, apparently for brevity, has omitted the expedition to Greece.¹²

49. "At last by fatall course they driven were
 Into an Island spacious and brode,
 The furthest North that did to them appeare:
 Which, after rest, they, seeking farre abroad,
 Found it the fittest soyle for their abode,
 Fruitfull of all thinges fitt for living foode,
 But wholly waste and void of peoples trode,
 Save an huge nation of the Geaunts broode
 That fed on living flesh, and dronck mens vitall blood.

50. "Whom he, through wearie wars and labours long,
 Subdewd with losse of many Britons bold:
 In which the great Goemagot of strong
 Corineus, and Coulin of Debon old,
 Were overthrowne and laide on th' earth full cold,
 Which quaked under their so hideous masse,
 A famous history to bee enrolld
 In everlasting monuments of brasse,
 That all the antique Worthies merits far did passe.

¹² Cf. Inogene of *Italy*, in F. Q., II, 10, 13. See p. 52 f., above.

G. of M. See p. 42 above, for reference to giants. See p. 48 above for Geomagot.

Hol., Hist. For giants, see p. 43, above; for Goemagot, see p. 48f., above.

For a full discussion of the matters treated in these two stanzas, see pp. 42-46, and 48-50, above.

51. "His worke great Troynovant, his worke is eke
Faire Lincolne, both renowmed far away;
That who from East to West will endlong seeke,
Cannot two fairer Cities find this day,
Except Cleopolis: so heard I say
Old Mnemon. . . ."

The founding of Troynovant by Brutus is mentioned in Geoffrey's *Historia* (I, 17), in Holinshed (p. 16), and elsewhere. I have not discovered any authority for Spenser's statement that Brutus founded Lincoln also.

VI

CONCLUSION

In the previous chapter Spenser's chronicle history material has been studied with relation to its probable sources, section by section. The results, given, as they are, in a series of detached paragraphs, at first seem confusing and even contradictory, but a rapid review will show that taken together they establish certain facts.

In passage after passage it is manifest that much of Spenser's chronicle material agrees in detail as well as in general outline with Geoffrey's *Historia*. This agreement is especially noticeable in the passages which the later chroniclers contradict, modify, or doubt, because of the evidence of Roman and Saxon historians. Furthermore, in some cases, Spenser's version of the story appears not to be found elsewhere except in Geoffrey, and in other cases Spenser reproduces Geoffrey's phrasing.

As examples of Spenser's agreement with Geoffrey in details that are not given by other chroniclers it will suffice to refer to Spenser's account of the division of Britain among the sons of Brutus, to his mention of the broken treaty of Brennus and Belinus, and to his account of the devastation of Britain by Gormond. But to show Spenser's agreement in phrasing several passages are brought together here, that their significance may be considered more closely. Geoffrey says of Morvidus, *Hic nimia probitate famosissimus cecisset, nisi immoderatae crudelitati indulgisset*, and Spenser keeps the very turn of the sentence in his account of Morindus,

“Who, had he not with wrath outrageous
And cruell rancour dim'd his valorous
And mightie deedes, should matched have the best.”

Geoffrey says that Lud renewed the walls of London (*renovavit muros*), and Spenser says he "did re-ædify" them, although other chroniclers say that he built them instead of re-built them. Geoffrey, describing the reputation of Arviragus, writes, *diligebant eum Romani et timebant, ita ut prae omnibus regibus sermo de eo Romae fieret*,—praise which Spenser translates in his

"Was never king more highly magnifide,
Nor dredd of Romanes, then was Arvirage."

Again Geoffrey speaks of Helena as surpassing other girls in beauty and in knowledge of musical instruments and the liberal arts, while Spenser calls her "the fairest living wight," who

"was most famous hight
For skil in Musicke of all in her daies,
As well in curious instruments as cunning laies."

In Geoffrey, Malgo conquers *sex comprovinciales Oceani insulas*, and in Spenser,

"six Islands comprovinciall
In auncient times unto great Britaine,"

although the word comprovincial is rare in English.

An argument based on a negation is always dangerous, particularly when the material under consideration is so often repeated. It would not be safe, therefore, to say that Spenser could have found the words or the details given above nowhere except in the *Historia*. As a matter of fact, in two cases it is certain that Geoffrey's words were repeated by other writers. In both the *Flores Historiarum* and the *Sex Libri* of Ponticus Virunnius we find reference to the musical instruments in which Helena excelled, and in the *Flores Historiarum* we find also the *sex comprovinciales oceani insulas*. But as there is no evidence that Spenser elsewhere used either book, we have no reason to

assume that he used them in these two passages. The *Historia* is the more probable source. Though it be admitted that no single instance cited above is in itself decisive, nevertheless the multiplication of examples convinces.

We have already seen that Spenser's chronicle reproduces the general outline of Geoffrey's narrative to an extent difficult to account for except on the supposition that Spenser knew the *Historia*.¹ We have noted also the significant, though not complete, correspondence in form between Spenser's proper nouns and Geoffrey's. When we now bring these facts into conjunction with the results of the detailed study in Chapter V, remembering, at the same time, that the *Historia*, the recognized authority for British chronicle history, was accessible both in print and in manuscripts, we must conclude that Geoffrey's *Historia* was one of Spenser's immediate sources.

The moment we grant this, however, we find ourselves face to face with a curious fact. Scarcely a dozen times in all does Spenser follow Geoffrey's narrative without varying from it, or in some way showing the influence of the later chroniclers; and those few instances are always where he gives only a few lines to a single reign, or summarizes a long story in a single stanza.² For the most part even in his briefest passages, and always in his longer and more detailed ones, he varies continually, adding here and changing there, until sometimes all resemblance to the *Historia* seems for the moment to disappear.³

With these variations our chief interest now lies. We ask concerning them, first, from what source they came, and secondly, although we cannot hope to answer this question except conjecturally, on what principles they were chosen.

For some of these variations I have not succeeded in finding any source. The list is as follows:

¹ See pp. 31-36, above.

² See in Bk. II, C. 10, st. 9, ll. 6-9; st. 12, ll. 1-5; st. 13; st. 21, ll. 3-5; st. 25, ll. 4-5; st. 34, ll. 3-6; st. 57, ll. 5-6; st. 60; st. 67; and in Bk. III, C. 3, st. 52, ll. 5-9.

³ See Bk. III, C. 3, st. 35.

Book II, Canto 10,—

St. 11. The story of Debon and Coulin; the story of Godmer and Canutus.

12. The statement that Devonshire was given to Debon, and that Kent was given to Canutus and named after him.

13. The assumption that Inogene was of Italy, not Greece.

18–19. The statement that Locrinus was imprisoned by his wife, and that Estrild was not drowned in the Severne with Sabrina but was killed separately.

21. The name Manild; the number of Ebranck's children, as many as there were weeks in the year.

24. The reference to the "moore twixt Elversham and Dell," and the Welsh words for green shield and red shield.

25. The statement that Cairleon was *built* by Leill.

32. The manner of Cordelia's death.

34. The imprisonment of Gorbogud by his sons, Ferrex and Porrex.

41. The conquest of Easterland by Gurgiunt.

43. The peaceful rest of the body of Morindus.

46. The number of Hely's sons, two, not three.

49. The statement that Cæsar's sword is "yet to be seene this day."

50–51. The transference of the adventures of Guiderius to his predecessor Kimbeline.

54–56. The insertion of the story of Bouduca after the reign of Lucius; the battle of the Severne; the corruption of Bouduca's captains; her second defeat.

58. The statement that Coel was the first since Lucius to be crowned king.

63. The building of the wall by Constantine.

64. The statement that all three sons of Constantine were under age.

Book III, Canto 3,—

St. 30. Conan's three fights with the Mertians.

31. The disastrous end of Vortipore's reign; the state-

ment that Malgo was Vortipore's son and fought to avenge his father.

33. The statement that Careticus was the son of Malgo, and was at first victorious over the Saxons.

36-37. The hanging of Pellite; the name of the battle of Laybourne Plain; the list of those who were killed there; the description of the battle of Hevenfield.

Book III, Canto 3,—

St. 51. The founding of Lincoln by Brutus.

Several of these variations from Geoffrey's *Historia* seem to be sufficiently accounted for without supposing that Spenser followed some source as yet unknown. The name Manild, for instance, may be due to the exigencies of rhyme. The number of Ebranck's children is given in a poetical circumlocution which approximates the number usually given, 50, and the number Caxton gives, 53, as closely, perhaps, as can be expected. The manner of Cordelia's death might easily have been suggested by the *Mirror for Magistrates*. The statement about Cæsar's sword was a natural addition to give a touch of reality. The insertion of the story of Bunduca after the reign of Lucius seems explained by the greater smoothness thus secured in the narrative as a whole. The building of the turf wall by Constantine is a statement that might result from the confusion in Holinshed. The assertion that all three sons of the second Constantine were under age is manifestly a device to cover an omission in the story, made partly for the sake of brevity, and partly to avoid disagreeable and disputed material. The changes in the beginning of the part of the chronicle which is told as a prophecy — including not only the variations in stanzas 30 and 31, but also the relationship between consecutive kings — are clearly due to the conditions imposed by the story of Britomart in the *Facrie Queene*. If these variations from the *Historia* material should be excluded from the list, few would remain for which we might expect to find a source.⁴ Con-

⁴ This course of reasoning, however, is not always to be relied on.

spicuous among these, however, would be the stories of Godmer and Debon, Coulin and Canutus, and the Welsh words in the account of Brutus Greenshield.

Far the larger number of Spenser's variations from the *Historia* can be traced directly to a source in one or more of the writers later than Geoffrey. We find indications that Spenser occasionally drew from Caxton, Grafton, Camden, Llwyd, the *Tragedy of Gorboduc*, and possibly also from Nennius and Warner, and we are sure that he frequently was influenced by Hardyng, Stow, the *Mirror for Magistrates*, and Holinshed.⁵ Two of this last group, Hardyng and the *Mirror for Magistrates*, were naturally important because of their poetical form and their moralizing, for although Spenser never directly copied any of the moral reflections in either book, the general tone undoubtedly influenced him. To Holinshed and Stow, on the contrary, he must have turned, not from literary, but from historical, interest. In Spenser's time they were the most recent authorities.

So far as phrasing is concerned, Spenser borrowed little from his predecessors. We catch only light echoes. Llwyd, the *Tragedy of Gorboduc*, Warner, Grafton, and the *Mirror for Magistrates*, each, apparently, furnished a single word or phrase. Camden seems to have suggested the wording in two passages, Stow in four, and Holinshed and Hardyng in eleven each. As to these passages, however, there is room for a difference of opinion, for the resemblances are seldom sufficiently striking to be insisted upon. It is in the material itself, rather than in the phrasing, that we see the influence of Spenser's sources.

When we turn to a consideration of Spenser's way of using the material that he drew from the later chroniclers, we find, first, that the additions to Geoffrey's story, or the

Several times I have found a source for some statement that at first seemed easily explicable as an independent variation.

⁵ Spenser's use of the name Maximinian indicates that he probably followed the first edition of Holinshed. There is no evidence that he used the British chronicle history in the second edition.

changes in it, which found favor in his eyes, are usually those repeated by a number of chronicles. For example, Spenser agreed with the majority in writing that Madan was an evil king, that Bladud visited Greece, that Brennus and Belinus conquered Greece, that Coel gave his daughter Helena in marriage to Constantius, that a wall of turf was made from Alclud to Panwelt, that Vortiger sent to Germany for aid. Likewise he had the authority of more than one writer for such incidents as the founding of Colchester by Coel, the finding of the naked body of Alectus, and the massacre of the monks at Bangor.

We find, secondly, that the direct contrary is sometimes true. Now and then the variations in Spenser's story seem to result from the influence of a single author. We must turn to Stow for a full account of Ebranck and Brutus Greenshield,⁶ to Hardyng for a hint that Ymmer was of ill repute, to Holinshed for any suggestion of Joseph of Arimathea in an account of the reign of Lucius, to the *Mirror for Magistrates* for the description of the battle in which Fulgent was killed, to Llwyd for the two repulses of Brockwell. In one case, at least,—the account of Vortimer—an important change which contradicts practically every other authority, is probably the result of a story repeated by Holinshed, on the authority of William of Malmesbury, merely as one among several accounts of the events of Vortimer's reign.

We find, in the third place, that in composing a single passage Spenser often drew from several authorities. He used Geoffrey, Holinshed, and Hardyng in his account of the sons of Brutus. He used Geoffrey, either Grafton or Stow, Holinshed, and possibly Hardyng in his account of the successors of Morindus. He used Geoffrey, Holinshed, Stow, and apparently Nennius, in his account of the second Constantine. He used Grafton's *Abridgment*, the *Description of Cambria*, the *Breviary of Britayne*, and

⁶ Unless Stow's sources were accessible to Spenser.

Hardyng's *Chronicle* or Stow's *Annales*, as well as possibly the *Brut Tysilio*, in his account of Cadwan.

The reasons which led Spenser to add or to change details in this way are not always obvious. He seems sometimes to seek the account most favorable to the Britons. Yet he made Madan an evil ruler in the face of Geoffrey's testimony to the contrary, dwelt on the humiliation of the country during the Roman invasions and the attack of Gormond, and most unnecessarily described Vortipore's reign as disastrous. He was, perhaps, aiming at historical accuracy when he followed the majority of the later writers in preference to Geoffrey, or when he turned to an authority older than Geoffrey, as in his account of Vortimer, or when he made use of local tradition, as in locating the fight with Goemagot at Plymouth. Yet no desire for historical accuracy led him to depart from the general outline of Geoffrey's narrative in order to follow Roman or Saxon authorities from the time of Caesar on. He occasionally rejected fabulous or marvellous incidents, as when he practically denied that Morindus was eaten by a sea-monster. Yet he kept the stories of Goemagot and Hercules, added those of Godmer and Coulin, and followed Geoffrey in ascribing the hot springs of Bath to the magic of Bladud. In short, Spenser was guided in his choice of material by no set principle. From many sources he chose what pleased his taste or his convenience. With our scanty knowledge of Spenser himself, and with the changed standards of our time, we cannot hope to understand his motives. Although the reader of the present day may not be more interested in an evil Madan or Ymner, or in a peaceful Marius, than in the Madan, Ymner, and Marius of Geoffrey, it is entirely possible that Spenser was. Down to the accession of Uther, at least, we are sure that in Spenser's opinion the chronicle had the element of interest, for he clearly indicated it in his description of the effect of the chronicle on Prince Arthur. "Wonder of antiquity long stopped his speech," we are told, and he was

“ quite ravisht with delight to heare
The royall Ofspring of his native land.”

In addition to this element of interest, which in the end remains the chief explanation of Spenser's choice of material, we note two characteristics that are evident throughout the chronicle. The first is that no statement is made doubtfully. We are not told, “They say,” or “So the story runs,” and then, “But for the truth of this I will not vouch.” We seem always to be dealing with unquestionable fact.⁷ The second characteristic is that the story is told strictly from the British point of view. Incidents in Geoffrey which might tend to distract the attention—such, for instance, as the stories of Rowena, the founding of Armorica, the death of the eleven thousand virgins—are rigorously excluded. Great skill is shown in keeping the interest always with the successive British rulers, first, through the whole period of the Roman warfare, which never, in Spenser, is felt as a time of Roman supremacy, and secondly, during the period of Saxon warfare. Although three times an interregnum is admitted, once before the reign of Dunwallo, once before that of Bunduca, and once before that of the second Constantine, in each case the attention is fixed immediately on the succeeding British ruler, so that no break in the continuity is felt. A similar effect is secured in the later part of the chronicle by making son succeed father, from Conan to Careticus, by making Cadwan apparently the direct successor to Careticus, and by suppressing all mention of rival British or Saxon kings,—an omission particularly marked in the stories of Cadwan and Cadwallin.

With this emphasis on the British point of view and the continuity of British rule we may connect the traces of direct Welsh influence. We note the Welsh words in the account of Brutus Greeneshield, the familiarity with the country suggested by Spenser's reference to the “woody

⁷ The chief exceptions are the story of Dioclesian's daughters, II, 10, 8, and the reference to the Grail, II, 10, 53.

hills" of Glamorgan — even so slight a touch of description is rare in the chronicles, — the transference of Bunduca's great battle to the vicinity of the Severn, the statement that Cador was son of Gorlois — found only in the *Brut Tysilio* and in Hardyng, and apparently a Welsh tradition, — and finally the account of Brockwell and the massacre at Bangor. Slightly different from these, but equally important, is Spenser's reference to the three later Welsh princes,⁸ the ultimate, if not the direct, source of which is the *Brut* of Caradoc of Llancarvan.

Both the British point of view and the interest in Welsh tradition may be partly accounted for by the Welsh blood of the Tudors. The chronicle, as has been said, was introduced in praise of Elizabeth, and the invocations made clear her connection with the British kings. According to Spenser, she was the descendant both of Prince Arthur and of Britomart. The "royall mace" she bore had been handed down to her

"From mighty kings and conquerors in warre,"

her "fathers and great Grandfathers of old." After the death of Cadwallader, the British rule was at an end. "But the terme," continued Merlin,

"is limited
That in this thraldome Britons shall abide."

In twice four hundred years, he promises, they shall return to power. The interval shall be brightened by the courage of such men as Rhodoricke the Great, Howell Dha, and Griffith Conan.

"Tho, when the terme is full accomplishid,
There shall a sparke of fire, which hath long-while
Been in his ashes raked up and hid,
Bee freshly kindled in the fruitfull Ile
Of Mona, where it lurked in exile;

⁸ The *Faerie Queene*, III, 3, 48.

Which shall breake forth into bright burning flame,
 And reach into the house that beares the stile
 Of roiall majesty and soveraine name:
 So shall the Briton blood their crowne agayn reclame."⁹

In short, with the accession of Henry VII., grandson of Owen Tudor, a "Welsh gentleman," the British blood again came to its own.

As we note these evidences of artistic intention in Spenser's chronicle, the possibility of the existence of a single version of the British chronicle from which Spenser may have drawn all his material becomes more unlikely. By presupposing such a chronicle history we should only shift the problem of composition back to some unknown writer, whose motives in making such a combination of details from numerous sources would be less comprehensible than Spenser's. Versions of the British chronicle which we do not know may have been in Spenser's hands; but there is no reason to suppose that any one of them was the prototype of Spenser's chronicle.

The conclusions that we have reached as to Spenser's treatment of the British chronicle material agree, on the whole, with what we had reason to expect from our study, first, of his use of the river material in the *Faerie Queene*, and, second, of his attitude toward historical records as manifested in his *View of the Present State of Ireland*. In the account of the rivers we found that although Spenser depended largely on Holinshed, he continually modified Holinshed's descriptions by introducing material from other sources, and that he added, changed, or reproduced accurately, according to the preference of the moment, with no uniformity of method. From the study of the *View of the Present State of Ireland* we learned that he found significance in details that seem trifling to us, and that it was his custom to collect material from every source in order to "gather a likelihood of trueth" and a "probabilitye of thinges." In both works he showed a habit of mind

⁹ The *Faerie Queene*, III, 3, 48.

and a method of work that would naturally result in just such a free combination of material as we seem to have in his British chronicle history.

It is interesting, finally, to compare these conclusions with those reached by others who have studied Spenser's use of his sources. Mr. R. S. Neil Dodge, in *Spenser's Imitations from Ariosto*,¹⁰ comments thus on the tenth Canto of Book II:—

“Here, as in several other imitations, Spenser directly translates the first few lines, and then drifts into an entirely original rendering of the theme suggested.”

Practically the same is the conclusion of Mr. John R. Macarthur, in *The Influence of Huon of Burdeux upon the Faerie Queene*.¹¹

“He [Spenser] appears to have borne in mind the details of some episode in a romance to which he was able to attach an allegorical meaning, but he made use of those details in an absolutely independent manner, re-arranging, omitting, and adding to suit his purpose.”

Mr. E. A. Greenlaw says that Spenser “is too great and too original to follow slavishly his sources after the manner of the mediaeval romancers,”¹² and Miss Sawtelle, after noting Spenser's “complete mastery” of classical myth, writes in like fashion:—

“This sense of mastery leads him occasionally to rise superior to the strict letter of the original and, while always preserving its spirit, he at times deliberately perverts a myth in order that it may better accord with his immediate purpose: or, again, he seizes upon some hint from the classics, and constructs a myth of his own . . . Even when Spenser paraphrases long extracts from the classics, he embellishes them with beauties from his own imagination . . .”

¹⁰ *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass'n*, XII, p. 200.

¹¹ *Journal of Ger. Phil.* IV, pp. 215-238.

¹² Edwin A. Greenlaw, *The Sources of Spenser's "Mother Hubbard's Tale,"* in *Mod. Phil.*, III, p. 432.

She adds that occasionally he made mistakes in minor details.¹³

In one respect the results of the present investigation agree with the statements that have just been quoted. Spenser shows freedom in his use of his sources. He rearranges, omits, and adds details in his chronicle history, even as he did in the material which he drew from *Huon of Burdeux*. In the section of the chronicle which deals with the kings immediately following Arthur, he even perverts the story, as, according to Miss Sawtelle, he sometimes "deliberately perverts" a classical myth, "in order that it may accord with his immediate purpose."

On the whole, however, this investigation has brought out a different aspect of Spenser's use of his sources. Spenser's freedom has been seen manifesting itself, not in the invention, but in the selection and combination of details. He does not treat with imaginative freedom a hint from some previous writer. He seldom, if ever, gives an "entirely original rendering of the theme suggested."¹⁴ On the contrary, he keeps curiously close to his authorities. First from one author, and then from another, he extracts some minute detail, a peculiar form of a name, an unimportant variation from the usual form of the story. While apparently following Geoffrey of Monmouth in the main, he also draws from Hardyng, Holinshed, and Stow, and from the *Mirror for Magistrates*, and to the material gathered from these sources he adds now and again statements that he bases on still other authorities. In short, we see Spenser, not solely as a poet, but also as a historian and chronicler and as an antiquarian.

In the *Faerie Queene* Spenser has described "that old man Eumnestes" who "things past could keep in memory." He was sitting in his chamber, which was all

¹³ *The Sources of Spenser's Classical Mythology*, by Alice Elizabeth Sawtelle, Boston, 1896, p. 8.

¹⁴ A possible exception to this statement is Spenser's treatment of the history of the first few kings after Arthur. It is doubtful if even this could be called "entirely original."

“hanged about with rolls
And old records from auncient times derivd,
Some made in books, some in long parchment scrolls,
That were all worm-eaten and full of canker holes.

“Amidst them all he in a chaire was sett,
Tossing and turning them withouten end.”¹⁵

Even so it would seem Spenser himself must have worked.

¹⁵ F. Q., II, 9, 57-58.

APPENDIX

It seems probable that Spenser's chronicle of the British kings was first planned as a separate poem, and, furthermore, that material was collected for it and that it was partly written before Spenser decided to include it in the *Faerie Queene*.

Such a subject would have appealed to a young poet in Spenser's time. The material was popular. To cast it anew in poetical form would have been a natural ambition, especially as a successful chronicle in verse would have been sure to win praise for its author.

Similar material, although geographical, not historical, is known to have interested Spenser when he planned the *Epithalamion Thamesis*. The idea of a chronicle in verse may have been connected with the plan for a poem on British rivers. One may have sprung from the other, as a result of the almost universal habit of prefacing a chronicle history with a "Description of England."

A moment's inspection shows that in Spenser's chronicle as it now stands there is a considerable difference between the first part, which extends to the reign of Uther Pendragon, and the second part, which begins with the successor to Arthur. The first part is, on the whole, a closely knit narrative that aims at an adequate reproduction of the chronicle history material. The poet holds throughout a judicious, historical attitude. He has selected his facts — if we may call them so — with skill. Even we in these days can find authority for most of them, and Spenser himself, we suspect, could have cited chapter and book for nearly, if not quite, all of them. At the same time Spenser exerted himself to give a suitable poetical form to the earlier portions. For instance, Locrinus, the second Brute, Leir,

and Donwallo are described in stanzas that for artistic qualities cannot be matched in the second portion of the chronicle. This second portion, it must be admitted, bears marks of hasty work. The history is falsified to accord with the necessities of the poet, whose interest centered in the romantic figure of Britomart. The more carefully Spenser's sources are studied, the more the investigator will be convinced that in this part of the chronicle, Spenser's variations from the usual narrative are due (1) to a desire to adapt his material to the preceding portion of the *Faerie Queene*, (2) to the need for condensation, and (3) to a comparative indifference to the narrative as history, although at times, as in the account of Brockwell, evidences of research still appear,—the result, perhaps, of notes taken at an earlier period.

If we assume that Spenser planned a separate poem on British chronicle history it will be easy to account for the peculiarities of his chronicle as it has come down to us. For a separate poem he would naturally have consulted all or most of the authorities which were available, whereas for an episode in a long poem he would more naturally have followed a single authority, or at most a few of the best known chronicles. For a separate poem he would, perhaps, have taken notes to cover the whole period. He would then have begun to compose his poem. The first part would have been carefully written and revised, another section would have been blocked out, and then, if the poet wearied of his work, the third part would have been left untouched. Notes and unfinished poem would have been put away together,—only to be brought out at a later date to be fitted into the *Faerie Queene*. Then we should get the elaborate, finished work of the first half of Book II, Canto 10, the slightly more careless composition of the latter part, and the uneven work of Book III, Canto 3, where direct quotation from Geoffrey and work that is based on non-Galfridian authority appear side by side with deliberate distortion of British history. Finally, the few stanzas on

the early life of Brutus (III, 9) seem like a fragment at first rejected, but thriftily saved and worked in later.

In Spenser's use of the name Maximinian, which he took from the first edition of Holinshed,¹ there is clear proof that the chronicle was written at a comparatively early date, before he had begun to use the second edition, although not necessarily before the inception of the *Faerie Queene*. As the early part of the chronicle, by the especial elaboration of the material that deals with the legends of rivers,² suggests that the chronicle was composed while the river material was fresh in Spenser's mind, the inference is that it is to be grouped with the early *Epithalamion Thamesis*, which was dependent on the first edition of Holinshed, rather than with the later rendering of the same material, in which Spenser used the second edition.³ It is noticeable also that throughout the chronicle Spenser speaks as if he were in England,⁴ and that when the story touches Irish affairs, as in the account of Gurgiunt (II, 10, 41) and in that of Gormond (III, 3, 33) there is no expansion, although we should expect it from a poet living in Ireland, as Spenser seems to have been when he wrote Book II, Canto 9 of the *Faerie Queene*.

More than once Spenser seems to have incorporated in his later work early poems or the material gathered for them. The *Epithalamion Thamesis* is an undoubted instance of this. Mr. J. W. Hales believes that the early *Legends* and the *Court of Cupid* are also to be found in the *Faerie Queene*.⁵ Mr. Grosart has a theory that both the *Dreames* and the *Stemmata Dudleiana* are preserved in the *Ruines of Time*.⁶ Mr. Philo M. Buck believes that ten

¹ See pp. 123 ff., above.

² See p. 58 and p. 60 f., above.

³ See pp. 12-15, above.

⁴ Cf., for instance: "They held this land" (II, 10, 9); "Brute this Realme unto his rule subdewd" (II, 10, 13); "Caesar, tempted with name Of this sweet Island never conquered" (II, 10, 47); "Nought els but treason from the first this land did foyle" (II, 10, 48).

⁵ See *Spenser*, Globe ed., p. XXVII.

⁶ *Spenser*, ed. Grosart, I, p. 94.

of the eighteen "lost poems" that he enumerates in his paper on "*Spenser's Lost Poems*"⁷ have been worked into later poems. Presumably Mr. Bryskett was not misrepresenting Spenser when he put into his mouth the statement that Bryskett's translation of the dialogue by Giraldi might "happily fare the better by some mending it may receive in the perusing, as all writings else may do by the often examination of the same,"⁸—a statement which suggests that Spenser had a habit of preserving his early work and continually revising it. Indeed, we have Spenser's own words to this effect, for in the letter prefixed to the *Four Hymnes* he speaks of those poems as the result of his resolve to "amend" and "reforme" two hymns composed "in the greener times" of his youth.⁹

The theory that the British chronicle history was first planned as a separate work is not, it must be admitted, susceptible of proof. No reference to such a poem is known to exist. The nature of the subject, however, the characteristics of the chronicle as it appears in the *Faerie Queene*, and Spenser's habit of recasting his poems, taken all three together, create a strong presumption in its favor.

⁷ *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass'n*, XXXIII, 80-99.

⁸ *Spenser*, Globe ed., p. XXXIV.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 492.

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY

P	Bryn Mawr College
Univ	Monograph series V.7,1910
B	(Harper, CA)

